



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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11 April 1994

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Burundi

Situation in Capital, Provinces Described as Calm

EA0904170594 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in English 1130 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Text] The situation remains quite calm here in Burundi following the death of the head of state last Wednesday [6 April] in a plane crash, in which the president of neighboring Rwanda was also killed.

This morning the chairman of the National Assembly and also the chairman of the Crisis Committee addressed the nation and thanked all the citizens for the calm and security that they have maintained during these hard moments. Mr. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya said this is the sign that Burundians are determined to end the crisis which has paralyzed the country over the past five months. He said the authorities are doing everything possible to restore and maintain lasting peace.

The special representative of the UN secretary general to Burundi Ahmedou Ould Abdallah also said the situation in Burundi is far more encouraging compared to what is happening in neighboring Rwanda. Mr. Abdallah expressed his satisfaction to see that Bujumbura has become a platform for humanitarian operations on foreign nationals living in Rwanda. [sentence as heard]

Assembly Speaker Prepares To Assume Presidency

EA0904213094 Nairobi KNA in English 1045 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Text] Bujumbura, 8 Apr (KNA)—The speaker of Burundi's National Assembly, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, is getting ready to succeed the late president Cyprien Ntaryamira, who died Wednesday [6 April] in a plane crash near Kigali, the capital of neighboring Rwanda.

In his second address to the nation on Thursday evening, Ntibantunganya repeatedly appealed to Burundian citizens to "preserve the existing calm". He commended the country's higher organs and security forces for their "positive role in the management of the crisis born from the sudden death of the head of state".

Meanwhile, Radio Bujumbura reported that Ntibantunganya held talks in the presidential palace with ambassadors in Bujumbura, to "inform them of the situation prevailing in the country and ask for their support", the national radio reported.

In case of vacancy of power, the Burundi Constitution says the speaker of parliament acts as the interim president for a maximum period of three months, pending the election of a new president.

Assembly Speaker Confirms Arrival of U.S. Planes

EA0904190594 Nairobi KNA in English 1615 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Text] Bujumbura, 9 Apr (PANA)—The speaker of the Burundi Parliament, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, has confirmed the arrival of U.S. planes at Bujumbura Airport, for the repatriation of its nationals from neighboring Rwanda, where a civil war broke out on Wednesday [6 April].

Ntibantunganya, who made the announcement on national radio, gave no detail on the type and number of planes expected in the Burundian capital. He only said that immediately the Americans applied for landing, the Crisis Committee met urgently and gave the go-ahead to the U.S. planes.

The speaker appealed for understanding saying it was purely a humanitarian gesture. "The American planes have no other mission than to repatriate U.S. nationals who risk death in Rwanda", he explained.

The speaker, who under the Constitution is to lead the country for an interim period of between 45 days and three months, ended his short radio address by commending the Burundian people for "the dignity they have shown so far in these times of trial". He urged them to continue to safeguard "peace which honors Burundi in the eyes of the international community". The Crisis Committee comprises six eminent personalities, including Ntibantunganya, Defense Minister Colonel Cedeon Fyoko, and Armed Forces general chief of staff, Lieutenant Colonel Jean Bikomagu.

Government Asks Rwanda for Account of Crash

EA0804205994 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Text] Following the tragic death of His Excellency Cyprien Ntaryamina, president of the Republic of Burundi, and two of his ministers, Bernard Ciza and Cyriaque Simbizi, on 7 April in a plane accident in Kigali, Rwanda, the Government of the Republic of Burundi has sent the Rwandan authorities an official request seeking an explanation of the exact circumstances of the tragedy which resulted in the death of the Burundian head of state and two of his aides.

The government reiterates its thanks to the Burundian people for remaining calm and maintaining peace and security in the country during these trying times and encourages them to persevere along this path, the only profitable one.

Information concerning the accident and repatriation of the bodies will be made public as soon as it becomes available.

Rwanda**Army Urges Citizens To Help Stop 'Wrongdoers'**

EA0804142794 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in Kinyarwanda 1115 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Communique issued by the Ministry of Defense; place and date not given]

[Text] Rwandan men and women, the Armed Forces once again announce that, following the death of the head of state, security has been disrupted, particularly in Kigali. This was mainly caused by some soldiers who escaped from their barracks in anger to attack and harm people.

The Armed Forces cannot tolerate such shameful criminal acts. That is why they hastened to do everything possible to maintain security. At the same time, they searched for and arrested the criminals so that by yesterday evening, this reckless behavior had subsided.

The Armed Forces once again urge the people to be vigilant and to help them stop the wrongdoers.

The other issue they are informing people about is that the Rwandan Patriotic Front soldiers who were staying at Kimihurura Parliament building left the building and launched an attack on the Presidential Guard barracks. Their attack was repulsed. They also launched other attacks in Remera district, near the national stadium, and at King Faysal Hospital [word indistinct].

Rwandan men and women, as you can see, security has not been properly restored, but the country's Armed Forces are doing everything possible to protect those in trouble. You are also requested to support the Armed Forces so that they can continue to maintain security. Stay alert.

RPF Reports Troops in Kigali Under Attack

AB0804172094 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 8 Apr 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Well, a lot now depends on what action the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] is likely to take. They denied any involvement in the air crash and insisted that they still want to cooperate in implementing the Arusha peace accord and that they don't intend to go back to war. But their battalion in Kigali has been attacked, and there have been reports that RPF reinforcements were being sent in from the north. On the satellite link with (Biyunda) in northern Rwanda, Hebe Saley asked RPF commander Paul Kagame how they saw the situation:

[Begin recording] [Kagame] What we can confirm is that our force in Kigali is under attack by some forces on the government side, and they have been fighting since yesterday. So certainly, in that kind of situation, one

contemplates reinforcing them. Certainly there is a chaotic situation in Kigali, where people are being killed anyhow, and we think we should contribute to stabilizing the situation.

[Saley] So, have you actually sent people, sent reinforcements to Kigali?

[Kagame] Our forces may have to walk there sooner or later.

[Saley] Can you tell us what is actually happening to your people at Kigali at the moment?

[Kagame] At the moment, Kigali is again confused, but our force is still in the same occasion as it was before this incident. But they have been attacked by, I understand, the Presidential Guards, and they have been fighting for quite some time—since yesterday. So that is all I know.

[Saley] Have you been in touch with them today? Have you got fresh information?

[Kagame] Yes, I talked to them in the morning. They started fighting from six o'clock in the morning.

[Saley] How many of your men are engaged in battle, as far as you know?

[Kagame] We have a full battalion there, and the whole of it is engaged.

[Saley] And how many have you lost?

[Kagame] By last night, there are only three injuries, but I haven't seen any reports of casualties since morning.

[Saley] Well, I mean that sounds, that is very difficult to believe that they have been under attack since yesterday and there are only three injuries.

[Kagame] You may have the whole day people fighting, and you don't even get one injury. It depends on where you are fighting from and how you are doing it. [end recording]

Correspondent Reports on RPF Advance on Capital

LD0904122494 Brussels Radio 1 Network in Dutch 1100 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Text] In Rwanda, the situation is threatening to get even further out of hand. The Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] rebels have left their positions in the north of Rwanda and are advancing on the capital, Kigali. It is reported that the rebels have crossed the buffer zone agreed to in the cease-fire in March of last year. It is said that in some places they have engaged with government troops. Our correspondent Else Temmerman is now in the north of Rwanda and sends this eyewitness report:

[Temmerman] The RPF's advance toward the capital, Kigali, started last night. There is fighting in various parts of the buffer zone. Artillery explosions can be heard as far away as here in Mulindi. The fighting is

especially fierce on the main road to Kigali. There are reports that the rebels are now at a distance of 35 km from the capital.

RPF Vice President Patrick Masinpaka said here in Mulindi that the main aim of the operation is to reinforce the 600 UN troops being held prisoner in the parliament buildings in Kigali. Second, the RPF wants to help the United Nations restore order in the capital.

We have decided to fight this clique, RPF leader Paul Kagame said here this morning on the local radio. We regard everyone standing in our way as conspirators with the murderers and we will treat them accordingly.

The rebels say they are surprised by the cease-fire mediated by the United Nations. We have no knowledge of such an agreement, the vice president said here.

The RPF also opposes the new interim government. It is a government installed by the United Nations. It is based on nothing and, therefore, is not legally valid, the vice president said.

The RPF also says that it will cooperate with foreign troops if they want to evacuate their nationals.

How strong will be the opposition by the government army, and what the international community—and especially the French—will do, remain open questions.

Else Temmerman in Mulindi, northern Rwanda, for Radio News.

French Troops Warned Not To Interfere

AB0904124294 Paris AFP in English 1222 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Text] Kampala, April 9 (AFP)—French troops in the Rwandan capital should not “stand in the way” of the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) troops marching on Kigali, an RPF spokeswoman said in the Ugandan capital Saturday [9 April].

Spokeswoman Christine Umutoni Nyinawumwami said the RPF “had taken it upon themselves to move to Kigali, but would not allow French troops to stand in their way during this mission.”

She said the Rwandan rebels were heading for Kigali to “rescue people from the carnage” triggered by the plane crash death on Wednesday of President Juvenal Habyarimana and his prime minister the following day in a revenge attack.

Thousands have died in the inter-ethnic bloodletting that followed the president’s death.

“We understand that there are some French troops in Kigali, but they are warned that they should not break our way to this mission. If they do it, we are ready to face them, as they have blood and can be killed,” Nyinawumwami, who is a member of the RPF political bureau here, told AFP.

She was referring to some 300 French troops who took control of the Kigali airport early Saturday. The French troops are to organise the evacuation of the 600 French nationals in Rwanda.

RPF Troops Said Close to Kigali

AL0904192094 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 9 Apr 94

[From the “Focus on Africa” program]

[Excerpts] The civil war in Rwanda started all over again following the rejection last night of the new acting president, Theodore Sindikubabo, by the Rwandese Patriotic Front, RPF, rebels. Seen as a close ally of the late President Habyarimana, who was killed in a plane crash on Wednesday [6 April], the rebels said they would continue their march to capture the capital, Kigali, where some of their fighters are trapped. [passage omitted]

Just as we were about to go on the air, we received a call from the information spokesperson of the RPF rebels. Wilson Wutasira is in Mulindi. Alice Martin asked him what news he had of their forces march to the capital:

[Begin recording] [Wutasira] The latest information I have just got is that some of our troops are just between 10 to 15 km from the capital, Kigali.

[Martin] How many troops?

[Wutasira] Well, there are two units, two units, all fighting units, which have gone along the Wumba-Kigali axis.

[Martin] And what is happening at the moment? Are they fighting all the way or are they just walking in?

[Wutasira] Yes, they are fighting all the way as they come across the government forces.

[Martin] Has there been much fighting?

[Wutasira] Well, there is a lot of fighting along the way but some have managed to go through.

[Martin] So you say that two battalions have crossed through the so-called demilitarized zone and they are within 10 to 15 km of the capital.

[Wutasira] That’s right, that’s right.

[Martin] Now, why should I be sure that you are telling me the truth?

[Wutasira] Well, it is good that we give information as to the progress of the forces as they advance.

[Martin] And who is leading the forces? Is Paul Kagame at the head of the battalion?

[Wutasira] Well, he is with the troops.

[Martin] What do you intend to do?

[Wutasira] Well, we intend to....[pauses] Those two forces are supposed to go and reinforce our battalion which has been locked in fighting for the past two days.

[Martin] So, you are going to relieve a battalion of 600 who are in the center of Kigali.

[Wutasira] That's right.

[Martin] And what else will you do when you are in Kigali?

[Wutasira] Well, we could also assist the UNAMIR [UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda] and those other forces there who want peace and security restored in Kigali.

[Martin] Aren't you going to try and take over?

[Wutasira] Well, if that is necessary to regain security for Kigali, then it can also be considered. [end recording]

RPF Official on Aim of March on Kigali

LD1004082794 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Text] There is a danger of the fighting in Rwanda spreading between the Rwandan Army and the Rwanda Patriotic Front [RPF], which is marching toward the capital to link up with its forces in the town. The RPF forces could reach Kigali this morning if they do not meet too much resistance. What is the RPF's aim? We spoke to Emile Roua Massirabo, one of the RPF's leaders in Kampala, Uganda:

[Begin Massirabo recording] We have to get to Kigali. This is quite obvious. We have to arrive in Kigali to save and to aid the population, which is being massacred at this very moment. Our forces are advancing on Kigali. I can't tell you exactly where they are right now, but they are advancing along the road from the north. We want to put an end to the massacres. We want to arrest those responsible for these massacres, so as to put the country back on the democratic path. The opposition forces have systematically been exterminated. It has never been our aim to seize power. [end recording]

Bujumbura Radio Reports Hostilities in North

EA1004202094 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1100 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Text] The evacuation of foreigners has started. The United Nations is evacuating its staff to Bujumbura and Nairobi. For its part, Kigali has started a real race against time to try and contain the situation, which is slowly returning to normal in the Rwandan capital. However, the peace accord signed between the government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] on 4 August appears to be in doubt. From Kigali, Thomas Kamilindi reports.

[Begin Kamilindi recording] The cease-fire seems to have been enforced in the capital since 8 April. But for how long? It's difficult to tell. Hostilities seem to have resumed in Mutara in the northeast of the country and in

the northern Ruhengeri region between RPF and government troops beyond the demilitarized area [word indistinct] government positions.

According to a communique from the RPF, a column of at least 20,000 men are moving to within 100 km of the capital. But a spokesman of the Kigali Army staff headquarters says it is a whimsical deception. The government has strongly urged the RPF to stop its war mentality and to favor dialogue in order to establish a broad-based transitional government within six weeks, as demanded by Resolution 909 of the UN Security Council. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Army Chief on 'Containment' of RPF Advance

EA1004171594 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1123 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, due to the grave moments Rwanda is going through, mainly characterized by insecurity in the country particularly here in the capital, Kigali, and also characterized by the obstinacy of the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF], which has unilaterally decided to resume war, because of all this, our colleague Jean-Francois Nsengiyumva approached Colonel B.M. Gatsinzi, the interim chief of staff of the national Armed Forces to ask him how the country's Armed Forces and those in charge of security felt about all these issues. [passage omitted]

[Nsengiyumva] Col. Gatsinzi, you are the interim chief of staff since the tragic disappearance of titular chief of staff, Deogratias Nsabimana, who disappeared in the accident, I mean, the presidential jet that was shot down as it approached Kanombe [airport]. [passage omitted]

Following this tragic disappearance, some elements of the Presidential Guard and even other elements of the civilian population who were angered by the disappearance indulged in violence, sometimes unprecedented, which cost the lives of many personalities of the country, including the prime minister, Madame Agathe Uwilingiyimana. Therefore, I would like to ask you what concrete actions you are taking, as the security forces, to restore peace in the country and contain the situation so that the population can once again live peacefully.

[Gatsinzi] [passage omitted] This tragic event afflicted and saddened the entire Rwandan population including the Rwandan Armed Forces. Unfortunately, there are some in the Army who left their barracks and with anger, maybe seeking revenge, killed some personalities and people. These people were not at all sent by the command of the military authorities. (?These are) (?people) who strayed, who spread left and right through the town. But I would like to assure you that at the moment this trend has been contained and the soldiers have been called back and kept in their barracks.

The authorities have given instructions that peace must be restored in the city center and in the surrounding areas of Kigali, using elements that are usually charged

with security, the gendarmerie and the military police, to go and search for those who strayed and bring them back to their barracks and to stop these activities. I can assure you that the situation is currently returning to normal. We continue to do everything possible to restore peace and calm. But unfortunately there are some other people, bandits, who have taken advantage of the (?uprising) and interfered in the problems by looting and massacring the population, sometimes for the sake of settling scores. [sentence indistinct].

Now, measures have been taken and are being implemented for the gradual restoration of peace in the country. This is the number one concern of the Crisis Committee, to see the return of peace and for the political authorities to recoup the leadership of the state, to give all instructions as befits their power for the return of peace and the resumption of normal life so that the government can function.

We have helped to facilitate government members, who were scattered left and right, (?to meet) so that they alone can decide on the future of the country. The Army has not interfered in any way. We have just facilitated their meetings and contacts. And all the decisions were taken by the government, and the establishment of the latter is the prerogative of the political authorities. The Army has not interfered in that.

[Nsengiyumva] Colonel, alongside this regrettable situation of insecurity, we have learned that the RPF-Inkotanyi decided two days ago, I think, to resume war instead of helping the Rwandan Government, its new partner. According to the terms of the Arusha Accord, it is the Rwandan Government that is the other signatory, so instead of helping this partner to restore peace in the country, the RPF has unilaterally decided to resume hostilities. For your part, are you ready to face these [words indistinct] attacks in order to reassure the population?

[Gatsinzi] It is very regrettable that the RPF has resumed hostilities by leaving the premises of the National Development Council, where it was staying, and attacking the military barracks of Kimihurura [in Kigali] whose soldiers carried out massacres on the population. As I have said, it was not all the soldiers, but just some of them—in fact, maybe people disguised as soldiers. Investigations have been launched, and these will establish the truth. But it is very regrettable that the RPF has taken up arms and resumed hostilities.

But as it is the duty of the Rwandan Armed Forces to protect the population, the security forces and the Rwandan Armed Forces in particular have contained the attacks of the RPF, which indeed, are [word indistinct] on the entire northern front [words indistinct]. At the same time, we were trying to help the establishment of the government so that it could continue contacts and negotiations with the RPF within the framework of implementing the peace accords, despite the recent disappearances, to avoid having a political vacuum.

The Rwandan Armed Forces urgently call upon the RPF partners to use their goodwill to restore the climate of peace and negotiations, and not to favor war, for one cannot trust war as a solution, since it can be (?fata!).

Army Forces, Rebels Clash on Outskirts of Kigali

AU1004162494 Paris AFP in English 1630 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Text] Paris, April 10 (AFP)—Rwandan army forces and rebels clashed Sunday on the outskirts of Kigali, the Red Cross said from the Rwandan capital.

The two sides fought with mortars, grenades and automatic weapons, the International Committee of the Red Cross said.

The report appeared to contradict a Belgian UN commander's assertion that the two sides, which have engaged in an orgy of violence since the death of the Rwandan president in a plane crash last Wednesday, had agreed to a ceasefire Sunday and were generally respecting it.

Western countries scrambled Sunday to evacuate their nationals from the tiny central African country.

Aid Group Reports 8,000 Killed in Kigali

LD1004151994 Brussels Radio 1 Network in Dutch 1100 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Excerpt] The Medecins Sans Frontieres organization says that in the past few days 8,000 people have been killed in Kigali alone.

It is said that throughout Rwanda several tens of thousands of people have been killed in the troubles. Refugees who have crossed the border with Zaire speak of brutal massacres by the government soldiers. [passage omitted]

Massacres, Manhunts Continue

AB1004132194 Paris AFP in English 1304 GMT 10 Apr 94

[By Marie-Goretti Uwibambe]

[Text] Kigali, April 10 (AFP)—Ethnic killings, mainly of the Tutsi minority, and manhunts were still under way in the Rwandan capital Kigali on Sunday [10 April], leaving many bodies lying in the streets.

The massacres were taking place mostly in working-class districts, an AFP correspondent reported, four days after Rwanda's president and his counterpart from neighbouring Burundi were slain when their plane was reportedly shot down.

The correspondent saw at least 20 bodies piled up in front of her own home in a northeastern part of Kigali. Vans were picking up the dead to take them off for burial in mass graves.

Many people were murdered in their homes, and most Kigali residents dared not venture into the streets except to purchase essential food supplies.

Residents of the Hutu majority in the capital, sometimes backed by members of the Rwandan army, were murdering Tutsis in the latest flare-up of the central African nation's endemic ethnic strife, following the death of the Hutu president Juvenal Habyarimana.

Red Cross workers reported light arms fire in the morning Sunday, but said they could no longer hear any heavy weapons fire.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) also stated that there were "too many bodies in the streets and the ICRC is giving priority to the living, the injured."

The ICRC earlier reported that "thousands" of people had been killed and wounded in ethnic bloodletting which brought the country to the brink of civil war since the death of Habyarimana in what the Rwandan government described as a rocket attack on his plane.

The president had been on his way home from a regional summit in Uganda to discuss UN-sponsored peace-making efforts in Rwanda and Burundi, also troubled by strife between Hutus and Tutsis.

His government last year signed a ceasefire and political deal with Tutsi rebels of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), but the front had yet to be brought into government.

UNAMIR Commander Views Prospects for Cease-Fire

LD1004180694 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Excerpts] The airlift established in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, has made it possible to evacuate a significant number of French civilians in the face of the threat of a civil war, which is getting more real every hour despite statements about a cease-fire agreement between the rebels of the Patriotic Front and government troops. [passage omitted]

Apparently, some 4,000 rebels resumed the offensive this afternoon to try and take the capital, Kigali. According to some reports, nearly 20,000 people have died in the country since the beginning of the conflict. A first consequence: fighting, which seems to have decreased... [pauses] We are not sure about that for the time being, because we are getting contradictory reports every minute. Colonel Luc Marchal, the commander of the Belgian UN troops in Rwanda, has just confirmed—although he is still unsure—that weapons, with few exceptions, are reported to have gone silent. The UN officer spoke to Benoit Colombin:

[Begin recording] [Marchal] There has not been any fighting since this morning. Around 1000 hours, there

was a cease-fire, and, apart from limited and sporadic shooting, the cease-fire has been respected throughout the town.

[Colombin] Do you think that it will be respected? Indeed, there have already been cease-fires.

[Marchal] Indeed, there was a cease-fire yesterday, but it was a verbal cease-fire that was not based on the prospect of negotiations. This is no longer the case. This was negotiated; there is a written text. I agree that cease-fires are only bits of paper and that everything depends on the way the units are controlled on the ground.

[Colombin] Why can the French only be evacuated by air?

[Marchal] Because only the French have been given permission to land and to take off. There has been a new government for two days now. These authorities—who are competent—made the decision. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Further on 48-Hour 'Truce'

LD1004193594 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Text] In Rwanda, there is no cease-fire. However, the belligerents are reported to be willing to respect a truce. In any case, it will be a short one and its aim will only be to make the evacuation of foreign nationals possible. Colonel Marchal, the commander of the Belgian contingent within the UN Mission in Rwanda [UNAMIR], gives some explanations:

[Begin recording] [Marchal] The cease-fire that was negotiated this afternoon has changed names. It is now called a truce that will be implemented as soon as the document is signed. It will be valid for 48 hours.

[Unidentified correspondent] When is the document going to be signed, Colonel?

[Marchal] The document remained to be drafted and then, of course, signed by the two sides. I assume that this is happening right now. As soon as the document is signed, there will be a 48-hour time limit for the evacuation of expatriates.

[Correspondent] This means that this is a 48-hour truce. In other words, fighting may continue, it is likely to continue after these 48 hours, right?

[Marchal] Fighting is indeed supposed [as heard] to resume after these 48 hours, unless the political side of the UNAMIR...[pauses] which had the opportunity to use this 48-hour time limit to make progress in the negotiations which have been started. [end recording]

Resumption of Artillery Fire Reported in Kigali

LD1004224494 Paris Radio France International in French 2130 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Text] There was another day of man-hunts and looting in Kigali on Sunday [10 April]. The corpses lying around on the ground are being picked up in vans and buried in common graves. Alongside these ghastly events, there has been fierce fighting on the outskirts of Kigali between the army and the Patriotic Front. Jean Helene is there:

[Begin Helene recording] Firing started close to the Meridien Hotel, 200 meters from the frontline—or at least the one in Kigali. Government sources speak of three other combat zones in the north. In the capital, the troops of the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] are still fighting around the former parliament building against the Presidential Guard, which is probably supported by units of the Rwandan Armed Forces.

After a calm morning, heavy artillery could be heard throughout the afternoon, and violent shelling shook the town for 20 minutes this evening.

The RPF reinforcements that have been announced are still awaited. Evidently they have been slowed down in their advance toward Kigali.

UNAMIR [UN Mission in Rwanda] soldiers are making forays every day from the Meridien, where stray bullets burst from time to time: They are going to fetch expatriate families scattered around the districts affected by the fighting. There are nearly 500 expatriates in the Meridien today, waiting for evacuation, which can only be done when there is calm. [end recording]

'Active' Role by Army in Massacres Denied

LD1104095294 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] Rwanda—Jean Kambanda, the head of the provisional government said that the famous Presidential Guard—accused of being responsible for the violence in Kigali in the past few days—cannot be blamed for everything:

[Begin Kambanda recording] I cannot say that the Presidential Guard has control of the capital. The Presidential Guard cannot be singled out. I have the impression that the Presidential Guard has been considered to be different from the rest of the Army. What I can say is that, all in all, our soldiers remained quite calm and behaved well. Here and there—among the soldiers of the Presidential Guard and others—there have been some undisciplined troops. Because of some undisciplined troops, we cannot say that the Rwandan Army took an active part in the massacres. [end recording]

RPF Official Denies Cease-Fire Negotiations

AB1104102594 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730 GMT 11 Apr 94

[Text] The situation is dramatic in Rwanda where fighting with heavy weaponry continued last night around the Meridien Hotel, Kigali where fighters of the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] are encamped. The RPF not only refuse to recognize the government set up by close aides of assassinated President Juvenal Habyarimana but they are currently marching on Kigali to, according to them, stop the carnage by government forces. As I said earlier, it was initially thought that a cease-fire was possible between the two parties but in reality that is not so. The RPF's movement toward Kigali continues. This was confirmed this morning by Augustin Mukama, an RPF officer in Kampala, Uganda, in an interview with Raphael Mbadanga.

[Begin Mukama recording] We formally and categorically deny that there have been any negotiations on a cease-fire between the RPF and the puppet government set up in Kigali. There have been no cease-fire negotiations. There have never even been any negotiations on a truce. It is strange that Europeans and foreigners are being given the right to come to the rescue of their citizens while the RPF is being asked to stop doing the same for Rwandans who are in a much more critical situation than the foreigners in Kigali. It is therefore our responsibility, our sacred duty, to march on Kigali and to save the people. Yesterday afternoon, at 1500, our troops were 8 km from the capital. Now, we are in the outskirts of the city and even within Kigali commune. [end recording]

We now bring you the reaction of the Republican Democratic Movement, the assassinated Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana's party. Its West Africa representative, Mr. Kaberuka, refutes the RPF's statements. He was interviewed this morning by Raphael Mbadanga.

[Begin Kaberuka recording] The truth is that the RPF is looking for a dual cease-fire. It wants a cease-fire in Kigali alone but rejects a nationwide cease-fire as proposed by the government. You will understand that there can be no question of a cease-fire in Kigali while fighting continues in the rest of the country [words indistinct]. Either we cease fire and drop the war option or we leave out the question of a cease-fire and choose war. It seems the RPF has chosen the warpath which is exactly what the interim government does not want. This is what the interim government and the Rwandan people have never wanted. [end recording]

New President, Cabinet Members Selected

ABC904081994 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0407 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Address to the nation by Theodore Sindikubgabo, CND speaker and acting president; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Sindikubgabo] As everyone knows, the death of the president of the Republic was unfortunately followed by tragic events, during which others, like Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, were killed. We convey sincere condolences from the Rwandan Government and people to the bereaved family.

Finally, in accordance with Article 42 of the Constitution of 10 June 1991, the vacant post of the president of the Republic is assumed by the speaker of the National Development Council [CND]. Rwandans, it is in that capacity that I address you tonight, given the tragic moments we are experiencing that force us to take the following urgent measures.

The five political parties taking part in the current transitional government, namely the National Revolutionary Movement for Development [MRND], the Republican Democratic Movement [MDR], the Social Democratic Party [PSD], the Christian Democratic Party [PDC] and the Liberal Party [PL], have agreed to put in place a transitional government whose most urgent tasks are: First, the effective management of state affairs, notably by restoring order and the security of people and property; second, the continuation of contacts with the Rwanda Patriotic Front [RPF] with a view to putting in place the broad-based transitional government, and this within the shortest time possible, in any case before the expiration of the six-week period set by the UN Security Council; third, to seek ways and means of solving problems related to the famine that has claimed victims in certain regions of the country as well as the resettlement of those displaced.

The political parties taking part in the newly formed transitional government have decided to appoint Mr. (Jean Kabanda) as prime minister. We have approved this. We have also approved the list of ministers for his government that he submitted to us.

They are:

- (Jerome Bicamumpaka) minister of foreign affairs and cooperation;
- Faustin Munyazesa, minister of interior and communal development;
- Agnes Ntamabyaliro, minister of justice;
- Augustin Bizimana, minister of defense;
- Straton Nsambumukunzi, minister of agriculture and livestock;
- Dr. Andre Rwamakuba, minister of primary and secondary education;
- Dr. Daniel Mbangura, minister of higher education, scientific research and culture;
- Emmanuel Ndabahizi, minister of finance;
- Prosper Mugiraneza, minister of civil service;
- Eliezer Nitegeka, minister of information;
- Justin Mugenzi, minister of trade, industry and crafts;
- Dr. Augustin Ndirabatswe, minister of planning;
- Dr. Casimir Bizimungu, minister of health;

- Andre Ntagerura, minister of transport and communications;
- Jean de Dieu Habineza, minister of labor and social affairs;
- Yacinthe Rafiki Nsengiyumva, minister of public works and energy;
- Gaspard Ruhumuliza, minister of environment and tourism;
- Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, minister of family and women's promotion; and
- Callixte Nzabonimana, minister of youth.

Rwandans, dear friends of Rwanda, the times we are experiencing demand that we increase our vigilance twofold. The security of people and property is a necessity [words indistinct] the Rwandan Armed Forces in particular. In this regard, I would like to express the Rwandan people's gratitude to the members of the Rwandan Armed Forces who continue to take on their duty with dedication, selflessness and love for their country. We encourage (them) to persevere on this path. [passage omitted]

Issued in Kigali, 8 April 1994;

[Signed] Dr. Theodore Sindikubgabo, president of the Republic.

Prime Minister, President Give Inaugural Speeches

Premier Outlines Government Program

EA0904201094 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in Kinyarwanda 1125 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Inaugural address by Prime Minister Jean Kamukabanda; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] I, Jean Kamukabanda, in the name of the Almighty, swear before Rwandans that I will carry out my duties, that I will not act against the Republic of Rwanda and the head of state, and that I will work for all that is useful for Rwandans, that I will abide by the Constitution and other laws.

Your Excellency, madame deputy speaker of the National Council of Development; Your Excellency, the minister [as heard]. Rwandans, our country is currently going through difficult times. We are going to set up a government which will deal with the very difficult question of war and also the question of insecurity in the country and famine, especially among those displaced by the war. The three points make up the program of the present government. The present government will therefore carry out its duties especially by providing security for people and property and by restoring understanding among the people. That is why the ministers in charge of security, that is, the ministers of defense, communal development, and justice will do everything possible to restore peace as soon as possible. Let us say within about two weeks.

The minister of justice should do his utmost to convene a meeting of all heads of tribunals so that they can start investigations to identify all wrongdoers, such as those who killed and looted in many areas of the country, especially in Kigali town. The minister of defense must do everything possible to restore peace and tranquillity in the entire country, especially in Kigali town. The minister of interior and communal development is asked to convene a meeting of all prefects as soon as possible so that they may look for ways of restoring peace and pacifying the Rwandans.

Second, the current government will continue talks with the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] so that transitional institutions based on the Arusha agreement may be set up in six weeks' time. The Rwandan Government believes that there is no other way of restoring peace to the country apart from continuing talks with the RPF.

That is why it stresses the fact that the RPF should know that the problems with which our country finds itself following the death of the president of the republic, His Excellency Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, followed by that of the prime minister and some government members and innocent people, should not be a pretext for renewing the fighting since, as we said earlier, the government is going to do its utmost to restore peace in the country.

I thank the outgoing government for everything it did towards setting up transitional government institutions despite the many hindrances to the implementation of the planned program. The Rwandan Government will do its utmost to ensure that all the hindrances to setting up the transitional government are removed so that the Arusha agreement may be implemented as agreed. This will be done with only the welfare of the people at heart and not personal or group interests.

Concerning famine, which is the third objective of this government, the Ministry of Planning and Communal Government is called upon to start talks with the non-governmental organizations which have always assisted us in our problems so that we may get enough assistance to go to the rescue of the people affected by famine almost everywhere in the country, especially those displaced by the current war which we have known for almost four years.

Rwandans and friends of Rwanda, this country is in a very critical situation. The contribution of everyone is necessary so that we can solve the difficult problems. That is why we call upon international organizations and traditional friendly countries to support this government so that it can carry out its three-point program. [passage omitted]

President on Legality New Regime

EA0904192594 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in Kinyarwanda 1140 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Inaugural speech by President Theodore Sindikubagabo; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] Your Excellency, the deputy speaker of the National Assembly; Your Excellencies, the ministers of the government that has just been sworn in; Your Excellency, deputy and secretary of the National Assembly; heads of the parties that are part of the government present here, and guests, my speech is short because in my speech to all Rwandans last night, I explained the reason for today [as heard]. I will also repeat it today or tomorrow and explain at length why we have taken the present important decision.

At present, I would like to thank those who make up the government which has just been set up for agreeing to assist us at a time when our country needs the strength of its children. I would also like to thank and give support to our country's forces who acted swiftly after the death of president and did their utmost, as always, to preserve the peace of Rwandans, especially here in the capital. We also thank the Army for the good decision it made with the assistance of some civilian leaders and set up a Crisis Committee. We shall inform you about those who make it up.

The Crisis Committee is made up of some high-ranking Army officers and other officials. The Crisis Committee's role was very crucial. Without it, so that it could take important measures to follow what was happening in Kigali after the enemies [word indistinct], we could have found ourselves in more trouble in relation to peace. I ask those present to help me to thank the members of the Crisis Committee.

As I told you at the beginning of my speech, the day before yesterday, the members of the Crisis Committee, after consulting the five parties which are in the transitional government took an important and useful step that was in keeping with the Constitution before the broad-based transition started after the Arusha agreement. Basing themselves on the Constitution, especially Article 42, they asked me to implement the content of the article. I found that what they asked me to do was correct. I agreed to this because I believed that all of you, the Army, ministers and all Rwandans who love their country supported me.

The deputy speaker of the National Assembly said it best: We have not violated any article. We are within the law. We consulted our legal experts on the legality of the decision. They said that we were right. Some who do not understand the Constitution enough will surely criticize our action. However, that is normal. The decision we made was to extricate the country from the constitutional vacancy. There was no longer any leadership. After the killing of the president, the prime minister and

some of the ministers, there was no longer a leadership. Before the setting up of the broad-based transitional institutions, there was a need for courageous Rwandans to make a decision like the one we made.

The prime minister has just summarized his government's program. He has asked some of his ministers to act fast to explain to Rwandans why we made the decision and reflect this in their work.

I said that my speech would be brief. I will have enough time to explain to Rwandans and foreigners, to explain our program for the next few months so that we may lead our country up to the setting up of broad-based transitional institutions as contained in the Arusha agreement, without any obstacles in our path, while our people are in peace. [passage omitted]

Composition, Tasks of New Government Viewed

EA0904210094 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1150 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Text] Dear listeners of Radio Rwanda, we have just broadcast the recorded swearing-in ceremonies of the new government headed by Prime Minister Jean Kambanda.

The government is composed of nine ministers of the Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development Party. They are the same as in the preceding government. They are in their previous posts. All the Republican Democratic Movement ministers are new. They include: the minister for foreign affairs and cooperation, Jerome Bicamumpaka; the minister of primary and secondary education, Dr. Andre Rwamakuba, and the minister of information, Eliezer Nitegeka. For the Social Democratic Party, there are also three new ministers: the minister of agriculture and livestock, Straton Nsambumukunzi, and the minister of public works and energy, Yacinthe Nsengiyumva. For the Christian Democratic Party, there is one minister who has kept his post. He is Gaspard Ruhumuliza. For the Liberal Party [PL], there are two ministers who have kept their portfolio: Justin Mugenzi, who remains at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and Agnes Ntamabyaliro, who keeps her Ministry of Justice. A new minister of the PL is Jean de Dieu Habineza, who has been appointed as minister of works and social affairs.

It seems that ministers whose whereabouts were unknown were replaced. Others are those who were replaced for political reasons. The government was set up by the five political parties which make up the government. The president of the Republic, as you know, is Dr. Theodore Sindikubgabo, former president of the National Development Council [parliament]. Three ministers were not sworn in. These are the minister of interior and communal development, Justin Munyazesa, who is on a mission. The same applies to the minister of defense, Augustin Bizimana, who is also on a mission. Minister Straton Nsambumukunzi, minister of

agriculture and livestock, was also not sworn in. He was in Butare at the time of the swearing in.

The government has a six-week term. That is, it should carry out necessary negotiations for setting up the broad based transitional government in cooperation with the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] in six weeks, as requested by the UN Security Council. The government therefore has a precise role: to manage the crisis situation, to continue negotiations with the RPF and to assist the people who are threatened by hunger and famine, in some prefectures such as Gikongoro and Butare or in the camps of displaced people.

Council of Ministers Urges RPF To Resume Talks

EA1004185594 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Monitored in progress]

[Excerpts] ...because of the insecurity that has prevailed lately, the first meeting of the Council of Ministers today made decisions on this issue. Concrete measures and decisions were made. By 11 April at the latest, there will be a meeting of all the prefects of prefectures which will be presided over by the interior minister upon his return from a mission abroad. If he has not returned, the meeting will be chaired by the prime minister, Jean Kambanda. [passage omitted]

Today's Council of Ministers also expressed regret over the unilateral decision of the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] to resume the war. Because this decision has been made, preparations are under way on the Rwandan Government side. That is why the Council of Ministers called upon the national Army to redouble its vigilance to eventually counter the attacks and advances of the RPF, if it persists in adopting this war mentality that we thought we had buried with the signing of the Arusha Accord last August. That is why the Rwandan Government urges the RPF to abandon this war mentality which benefits nobody, certainly not the RPF.

The government urges the RPF to readopt the logic of peace and to resume discussions with the Rwandan Government which is the other signatory to the Arusha peace accord. In this way the broad-based transitional institutions as provided by the Arusha peace accords can be put in place in the coming six weeks, to meet the deadline given by the UN Security Council on 5 April when it rediscussed the Rwandan case on whether or not to maintain UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda in our country. [passage omitted]

RPF Warns New Government To Brace for 'Showdown'

EA0904211094 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in English to Rwanda 1100 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Text] Following the bloodbath by presidential guards in which almost the entire government has been wiped out

including the prime minister, Madame Agathe Uwilingiyimana, a new group has declared itself as members of the new government in Rwanda.

The new group is headed by Mr. Theodore Sindikubabo, as the new president, and Mr. Jean Kamukama as prime minister. The government also includes Mr. Justin Mugenzi and Agnes Ntamabyaliro from the controversial faction of the Liberal Party. The new government is unlikely to succeed because all the members have been strong opponents of the Arusha peace agreement. The Arusha peace agreement is supported by the majority of the Rwandan Republic and the agreement is now enshrined in the fundamental law of the land.

This new government has been (?formed) by the opponents of the Arusha peace agreement in a meeting of the party leaders that was convened on 26 and 27 February 1994. In this meeting, those who are opposed to the Arusha peace agreement wanted the government of the late Agathe Uwilingiyimana replaced. They called for the formation of a government of hardliners who would force the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] to accept the terms of the extremists. [Words indistinct] they could not find any legal framework in which to form their new government.

The government has only been formed after bloodshed that has claimed almost the entire political leadership in Rwanda. The methods are highly suspicious. But one thing is clear. The so-called government in Rwanda cannot get Rwanda out of the current crisis because this government consists of people who are against national reconciliation, which is now cherished by the majority of the Rwandan public.

The so-called government is made of people who are fighting hard to keep the political power within the clique that has been ruling for the last 20 years. The political struggle in Rwanda and the wars that have lasted for more than three years have been against the political monopoly by the ruling clique. This new scheme calling itself the Government of Rwanda should brace itself for a showdown with the democratic forces in Rwanda.

RPF Official on Rejection of New Government

LD0904210794 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Text] The former Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] rebels say that they are marching on Kigali. Emile Boua Massirabo, one of the leading officials of this movement, was interviewed by telephone from Kampala. Dominique de Courcelles asked him why the RPF had refused to recognize the new government in Kigali and why it had broken the cease-fire.

[Begin recording] [Massirabo] We did not sign any cease-fire, we did not negotiate any cease-fire with anyone.

[Courcelles] You did not even begin?

[Massirabo] No, never. This idea of a cease-fire was put forward by UNAMIR [UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda], we do not accept this, we did not negotiate any cease-fire, this is a lie. As soon as the massacres began in Kigali, the systematic massacres of political opponents and Tutsi people, the Arusha Agreement was violated and the RPF stood idly by while the whole civilian population in Kigali was being slaughtered. It was our duty—and I believe no one can condemn us for that—to intervene.

[Courcelles] Was there any hope for an end to massacres with a new government?

[Massirabo] I would also like to mention this government. Who is in this government? The government is made up of members of the MRND [Republican National Movement for Democracy], of the (?CDR), of the section supporting late President Habyarimana, of the MDR [Republican Democratic Movement], of the PL [Liberal Party], it is a product of this clique that organized these systematic killings in the capital. It is inconceivable for the RPF to consider this government as a valid partner. We would have expected the international community to denounce this government, as well as the Army and the Presidential Guard, which killed innocent, defenseless people. I do not believe anyone can condemn us for the resumption of the war. This government is not a partner for us.

[Courcelles] Therefore, the only solution for you today is the resumption of war, you rule out any negotiation?

[Massirabo] Negotiations are impossible since we are dealing with a wild horde systematically killing people.

[Courcelles] Who are you fighting now? Are you fighting the Presidential Guard and the whole Army, or is part of the Army on your side?

[Massirabo] You know that there is a part of the Army that is not with the murderers. Our main enemy now is the Presidential Guard, but it goes without saying that all the people who side with the Presidential Guard are enemies of the country, are enemies of democracy.

[Courcelles] Do you believe that part of the Army will join you?

[Massirabo] We called on the Rwandan Army. We called on all those who are outraged by what is happening in Rwanda to join us. We hope that part of the Army, as well as most of the Rwandan population and of the international community will join us. [end recording]

RPF Colonel Kanyarengwe Reportedly Killed in Coup

EA1004192594 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1100 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Rwanda Patriotic Front [RPF] rejected the new government immediately after the announcement of its formation on 8 April. Political analysts in Kigali are discussing how the RPF dares reject a government that is coming to fill the constitutional vacuum left by the almost simultaneous tragic loss of the head of state and the prime minister and other leading figures of the country. For them, this attitude means the RPF does not want any interlocutor, but that it alone wants power and that it wants to take it by force.

This attitude is also seen as destined to mark the beginning of ethnic struggles within the RPF where General Paul Kagame, the head of the movement's army, which is mainly Tutsi, is reported by Kigali private Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines to have carried out a coup d'etat in which the president of the RPF, Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe, and many other Hutu officials have been killed. The RPF has not denied the information.

Kanyarengwe Reportedly Alive; Issues Statement

EA1104110094 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in Kinyarwanda to Rwanda 0415 GMT 11 Apr 94

["Message" by RPF Chairman Alexis Kanyarengwe on 10 April; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] His Excellency Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe, the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] chairman, is alive. In fact, the following is his message to Rwandans. Let us remind you that this message was issued yesterday. He begins with the words, 10 April.

[Kanyarengwe] Today, 10 April, I want to send you this message. Rwandan men and women, we are going through grave times. Since President Habyarimana and the Burundi president died in a plane crash at Kanombe Airport on 6 April, it becomes clearer as the days go by that Habyarimana's death was planned by those in charge of his security. It is said that the plans were agreed upon.

Habyarimana's guard troops, (?watchmen), and their collaborators are the ones who implemented this criminal scheme of causing bloodshed and mourning in the country. The death gave them a pretext to kill innocent people and politicians opposed to the Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development-Coalition for the Defense of the Republic [MRND-CDR]. The killers had hoped that the massacres would annihilate the Arusha peace agreement once and for all.

Those who hatched the assassination plot are the very ones who killed the late prime minister, politicians including cabinet ministers, and leaders of parties opposed to the MRND-CDR. They killed the president

of the Constitutional Court with the aim of restoring the former Parliament made up of MRND members and to establish a puppet government of the CDR militia, as its self-styled president said himself at the swearing-in ceremony on 9 April.

Rwandan men and women, these bloodthirsty criminals are deceiving themselves. They will not win the war they have plunged themselves into. The affliction and mourning they have brought to the Rwandan children are about to backfire. Let them get ready to face the law. This government of killers which was announced to Rwandans is not legitimate in the country and has been denounced abroad. We the RPF have vowed to fight it. We call upon all Rwandans, particularly peace-loving soldiers, not to be alarmed by or to obstruct the RPF forces. Instead, they are requested to cooperate with the RPF and all the peace-loving people to fight these criminals.

Rwandan men and women, we are saddened by the fact that the youth continues to be deceived into being accessories to these killings and riots. We call upon the youth to be realistic and to avoid actions that might have bad consequences for them. Let them know that those who have deceived them into such actions have started fleeing the country. Even at this very moment some of them have fled, while others boarded planes this morning for foreign countries. These are the same ones who made use of the Rwandan Armed Forces, notably the [word indistinct], the CDR militia, and the pro-MRND militia who have started retreating. We call upon the youth, whether in the National Armed Forces or in the CDR militia, and the pro-MRND militia to stop the criminal activities they have been plunged into.

Rwandan men and women, many innocent people have been killed on a daily basis. These people committed no other crime than disagreeing with the MRND-CDR, or affiliation to a different tribe or region. We must all fight rid Rwanda of such shameless injustice. I am asking you from the depth of my heart to support all those who have lost family members, to assist and console them during these difficult times. We are with you all in these difficult moments. Thank you.

French, Government Troops Take Control of Airport

LD0904114894 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1100 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Text] Admiral Lanxade, chief of staff of the French Armed Forces, who is commanding the French operation in Rwanda from Paris, spoke to Laurent Boussie about the difficulties lying ahead of the mission to evacuate foreign nationals:

[Begin recording] [Lanxade] As things stand, we hold Kigali airport in liaison with the Rwandan Armed Forces. This means that we are able to land planes and bring in units, which we will be continuing to do in the afternoon. We will then proceed to transfer expatriates

from their homes in the city to the airport. You must realize that there are great difficulties at the moment. There is fighting between the town and the airport, so we need extra forces, which are on their way, in order to ensure the security of this transfer.

[Boussie] What are you most afraid of in the coming hours?

[Lanzade] We fear an extension of the trouble in Kigali. In the slightly longer term, we are very worried about a possible resumption of fighting between Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] forces in the north of the country and the Rwandan armed forces. We are worried that this fighting might take place near or even in the city itself, and with a much higher level of fighting than we are currently seeing. [end recording]

French Nationals, Habyarimana Family Evacuated
LD1004080294 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Text] According to the French Defense Ministry, the 400 French soldiers deployed at Kigali airport in Rwanda should be able to continue the evacuation of foreigners this morning in good security conditions. A first Transall plane left last night with about 40 French nationals on board, as well as a number of other foreign nationals. We have just learned that about 10 members of the late President Habyarimana's family were also on board.

Correspondent on 'Hunt for Belgians' in Kigali
LD1004080894 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 0700 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Excerpt] The night seems to have been calm in Kigali, although some sporadic fire is reported.

Yesterday, 400 Belgian paratroopers took off to take part in the evacuation. The Rwandan Government has officially authorized our planes to land, but, according to the Belgian Defense Ministry, it is not at all clear whether the Rwandan Army is obeying the new government's orders. Kigali airport remains blocked, and the situation is becoming more and more dangerous for Belgian nationals. Jean-Philippe Seti of Radio Suisse Romande reports from Kigali:

[Seti] The white population is not being directly targeted, but it is becoming increasingly dangerous to step out into the street, since you can be murdered for your valuables. There is, however, a new element: The hunt for Belgians has begun. It is very dangerous to be a Belgian in Kigali. I have been stopped at several checkpoints and brutally asked whether I am Belgian. It is clear that Belgians are being targeted. The Belgians are particularly afraid. [passage omitted]

Belgian Officer Denies Report

LD1004113694 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1100 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Text] According to Colonel Luc Marchal, the commander of Belgian UN forces in Kigali, the situation is relatively calm this morning in Kigali. A cease-fire came into force today at 1000 between the Rwanda Patriotic Front [RPF] and the Rwandan Government armed forces. The Patriotic Front has halted its offensive toward the capital, and the Front, he says, has only advanced 10 km from its initial positions in north-western Rwanda.

Colonel Marchal confirmed to Valerie Hirsch that negotiations are still underway with the Rwandan Armed Forces to obtain their accord for the landing of Belgian forces. A parachute operation has been ruled out:

[Begin recording] [Marchal] The situation does not require direct intervention to protect the lives of our compatriots.

[Hirsch] Can you confirm that there is no hunt for Belgian civilians?

[Marchal] No, this kind of thing is not going on.

[Hirsch] We have reports of two Belgian civilians killed a few days ago. Have any more Belgians been killed this weekend?

[Marchal] More than two Belgians have been killed. The number is quite small, and those who were killed were not killed because they were Belgians. Most of them were killed because they were caught up in a combat zone or because they were caught in crossfire.

[Hirsch] How many Belgian civilians have been killed?

[Marchal] As far as I know, four have been killed.

[Hirsch] If the Belgian forces cannot arrive quickly, might the French evacuate Belgian civilians?

[Marchal] I think that anything is possible. It is clear that their ability to act is directly governed by the attitude of the Armed Forces and the gendarmerie. If they oppose it, it is clear that the French contingent is not large enough to carry out a general evacuation in decent security conditions.

[Hirsch] They are dealing with the French in priority, when it seems that the Belgians are far more threatened.

[Marchal] Yes. They are dealing with the French first. [end recording]

Belgian Paratroops Land at Kigali Airport

LD1004153594 Brussels Radio 1 Network in Dutch 1500 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Text] The first Belgian paratroops have landed at Kigali airport in Rwanda. Our editorial department has learned

this from an informal but very reliable source. Thus the go-ahead has been given for the evacuation of our fellow countrymen from Rwanda. All afternoon the airport remained closed to Belgian planes. The Rwandan soldiers were blocking the runway with armored vehicles. The Belgian Embassy had started negotiations with the Rwandan authorities to have the airport opened, apparently with success.

UNAMIR Commander Comments on Evacuation Efforts

LD1004171994 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1600 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Text] All the French nationals living in Rwanda should be evacuated today. There are about 600 of them. They have the best deal, since only French planes can land and take off from Kigali airport. On the contrary, the Belgians and the Americans are making their nationals leave by road. So far, 246 French nationals have already left Rwanda. Cooperation Minister Michel Roussin hopes all French nationals will be able to leave by this evening thanks to the rotation of the five Transall planes.

This is possible, but it all depends on the ground situation in Kigali. This is what the person in charge of the Belgian UN soldiers in Rwanda, Colonel Marchal, told Benoit Colombin:

[Begin Marchal recording] The duration of the evacuation depends directly on the number of available planes. For the time being, only France has started to evacuate. No other country has started to evacuate, at least with planes. The United States is preferring to evacuate by road. Since yesterday, convoys have been heading toward the south of the country through Butare to reach the other side of the border, Burundi, and in all likelihood to wait for the situation to stabilize and to return to normal here. [end recording]

This is unfortunately far from being the case. Indeed, violence between Hutus and Tutsis is continuing in Kigali. This violence is extreme. Listen to a report by Jean Helene, who is with Radio France Internationale:

[Begin Helene recording] The church square is smeared with blood. In the aisles, two rescue workers collect an unconscious, wounded man. The man has been lying in a room under the nave for 24 hours, dying. He locked himself in there with four other people, but assailants threw a grenade through the basement window. He is the only survivor. Nearly 100 people took refuge in the church. Just after yesterday's service, dozens of armed militiamen invaded the mission. They jumped over fences, and the slaughter started. There was nothing else we could do, an eyewitness says. Those who fled into the street were systematically butchered. The mission employees buried nearly 70 bodies this morning, and the ICRC came to collect almost 30 wounded, including many who will not survive.

At the hospital, the situation is not safe. Soldiers came into the wards yesterday and executed seven wounded people. This morning, they came and beat up the wounded in the MSF [Medecins Sans Frontieres] dispensary and threatened to come back in the evening to kill them.

The march of the RPF troops on Kigali is making soldiers increasingly nervous. If the RPF tries to take the capital, the survivors of the massacres will probably be finished off. Jean Helene, RFI, Kigali, for France Inter. [end recording]

According to the Red Cross, the RPF rebels have just arrived in Kigali. The Meridien Hotel, which has been housing the foreign nationals about to be evacuated, was bombed. It is impossible for the time being to know whether any foreigners were still there.

Medecins Sans Frontieres Evacuating Belgian Staff

LD1004122094 Brussels La Une Radio Network in French 1100 GMT 10 Apr 94

[Text] Medecins Sans Frontieres has decided to evacuate all its Belgian staff now in Rwanda in light of the anti-Belgian feeling reigning in the country. Medecins Sans Frontieres officials said that the decision was made because of the evolution of the situation in Rwanda. The humanitarian organization added that, if circumstances allow, Belgian staff will be replaced by medical staff of other nationalities.

Leaders Meet for Summit at Kruger National Park

*MB0804153894 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1513
GMT 8 Apr 94*

[Report by N. Patterson]

[Text] Skukuza April 8 SAPA—The summit of South Africa's four top political leaders was still underway in the Kruger National Park late on Friday [8 April] afternoon. The four—State President F W de Klerk, Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and African National Congress President Nelson Mandela—began their talks at 3.30PM and there was no indication when the meeting would end.

A large contingent of journalists were restricted to the Skukuza area as they were not allowed into the Jakalsbessie Camp, the venue for the talks, government spokesman Marius Kleynhans said.

King Zwelithini was at Skukuza on Thursday night, while Mr Mandela, Mr Buthelezi and Mr de Klerk arrived on Friday morning.

The ANC leader and the Zulu king met from 9.30AM to 2PM, Mr Kleynhans said.

King Goodwill's delegation included about 20 indunas [chiefs], and the ANC was represented by Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa, Executive Committee member Mac Maharaj and Communist Party Chairman Joe Slovo.

The four leaders met to discuss the future of kwaZulu/Natal, violence, and whether elections would be possible in the province.

Journalists battled to file stories as only one pay card telephone line was available at Skukuza for the media.

While the government and other delegations earlier refused to disclose the venue of the talks, the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] had advance notice and arrived at Skukuza with an outside broadcast truck to provide coverage of the event.

Zulu King Says Talks at 'End of Road'

*MB0804181994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1752
GMT 8 Apr 94*

[Text] Skukuza April 8 SAPA—Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini told State President F W de Klerk he would "walk the extra mile" in an attempt to seek a solution to the violence in kwaZulu/Natal, but negotiations had "reached the end of the road".

The ruler of the region's eight million Zulus was addressing Mr de Klerk, Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] Leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and African National

Congress President Nelson Mandela during their summit meeting at Skukuza in the Kruger National Park on Friday [8 April].

The king accused Mr de Klerk of ignoring the "hideous and despicable crime" when eight IFP members were shot dead and at least four injured on March 28 outside the Shell House headquarters of the African National Congress in Plein Street, Johannesburg.

Referring to a reported agreement between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the police, in which the police agreed not to enter Shell House on condition that weapons inside the building were handed over to them, the king said: "You saw them being ambushed, attacked and massacred... yet your police did not enter Shell House to arrest the perpetrators and to secure incriminating evidence."

King Goodwill said it was clear that meetings he had held with Mr de Klerk had not been "fruitful" and "we have reached the end of the road which we together opened on January 17, 1994".

He said it was obvious that the only way in which Zulus would restore their kingdom was "through our own efforts as Zulus and as freedom fighters".

Mr de Klerk was still defending a unitary state which gave no recognition for the separateness of the Zulu kingdom and nation, he said. The Zulu nation had endeavoured to seek a peaceful and negotiated solution, but any possible freedom in the territory had been abolished by the "invasion" of the SADF [South African Defense Force] and SA Police to enforce the state of emergency in kwaZulu/Natal.

"I came (to the summit) because I felt it is my obligation to walk the extra mile in an effort to seek a solution to our problems.

"However, I feel that you, Mr President, and I have discussed all that there is to discuss and that the time for discussion has somehow run its course. I always feel that deeds speak louder than words," the king said.

He said the restoration of the kingdom of kwaZulu had to be resolved before an election was held in South Africa. "I am not sure how we can make progress and in which direction. I know that I am not prepared to go over again matters which you and I have discussed at great length," he said.

The Zulu king said the key to successful negotiations was whether the other leaders were prepared to listen to Zulu aspirations, or whether, "like those who conquered us, you think you must trample with your feet on those just aspirations of my nation".

Text of Zulu King's Presentation to Mandela

MB0804211494 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1726 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Statement on Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's presentation to ANC President Nelson Mandela on 8 April issued by Office of the Chief Minister of kwaZulu on the SAPA PR Wire Service]

[Text] Our meeting is taking place at a most crucial juncture in the history of our country. I feel that this meeting is somehow overdue and that because of the many postponements of our meeting we are now faced with a more difficult situation.

Before we proceed into any discussion I think it is important to remind oneself of the background which leads us to meet today.

The most immediate element of that background is the Shell House massacre of my subjects. I would fail in my duty and responsibility to my subjects if I were not to raise this issue at the very outset of our discussions. No words can express the horror I feel for the massacre of my father's people who were peacefully demonstrating for the restoration of the Kingdom of kwaZulu.

In this respect my pain is great and I do not wish that my grief obfuscates my objectivity in assessing and describing what happened in front of the headquarters of the political organisation you lead. In order to be objective I wish to refer to the description of the relevant facts in the editorial of the Sunday edition of THE TIMES of London, a paper with a world-wide reputation for objectivity and impartiality.

"... Last week's horrific events in central Johannesburg: the ANC is determined to take power by riding roughshod over those who stand in its way. The movement's true nature was exposed when its gunmen mowed down Zulu traditionalists exercising their democratic right to demonstrate their opposition to the election and their support for their king's call for independence for kwaZulu/Natal. As our investigation of events shows, witnesses (including ANC officials) saw Zulus slaughtered in cold blood merely for having the temerity to march close to the ANC headquarters.

"Yet three days earlier tens of thousands of ANC supporters had marched through Durban, a city divided between it and Inkatha. They went past Inkatha's offices, yet none was shot. When the Zulus did the same last Monday in Johannesburg, 53 of them were slaughtered. While it preaches democracy, the ANC practices totalitarianism. It prefers to kill its opponents rather than use reason and argument. Its intolerance to criticism and its adherence to communist ideals means South Africa will be a virtual one-party state. As its officials gloated over its 'victory' last Monday, they refused to allow the police entry to their headquarters to gather ballistic evidence."

It will take time to heal this wound, but some steps can be taken immediately and must be taken immediately. In

the name of my father's people I must ask that you allow access to all information in the possession of your organisation related to the Shell House massacre, including ballistic evidence. I must ask that you do whatever is in your power as the president of the ANC to ensure that all those who plotted, organised and executed the massacre are arrested and tried for their crime. Until and unless you personally distance yourself from the shedding of the innocent blood of my father's people by means of your personal initiative leading to the conviction of those who are guilty of this crime our dialogue will remain difficult if not impossible.

Our meeting today takes place after you cancelled at the last moment our scheduled meeting in Ulundi on March 18, 1994. I hoped to meet you in Ulundi as originally scheduled. Ulundi is a very special place for me, and it is very right that I meet you here in this place which is so poignant with the living history of the Zulu people. It was on the plains of Ulundi around us that the British finally defeated King Cetshwayo's army. When decisions had to be made about the location of the kwaZulu legislative assembly, there was only one decision which we Zulus could make—to locate the kwaZulu legislative assembly there on that historic site in order to rise again from the ashes of British conquest on July 4, 1879.

We have, as a nation, been involved in a struggle for our very existence, and we have gone through wars and rebellions and two of the great Zulu kings, in whose footsteps I now walk, suffered arrest, banishment and exile. Our choice of Ulundi as the capital of kwaZulu reflected a historic decision to use the kwaZulu legislative assembly and this place to unite the Zulu people, and to face them towards the final phase in our struggle for liberation from colonialism and apartheid.

I feel I have to pause, sir, to help you understand the reasons underlying my previous request that you meet me in Ulundi. And I want you to understand why it was the refusal of Mr Walter Sisulu and those who were released with him to do so, and their demand that they meet me in one of my palaces located in the Nongoma district, that was so offensive to the Zulu people. You will remember that when you and I spoke on the telephone shortly after your release, you tried to persuade me to meet Mr Sisulu as he had demanded, as a condition for you to subsequently meet with me.

The Zulu monarchy and all its institutions are surrounded and protected by hallowed traditions and protocols that have evolved over nearly two centuries. Zulu kings are kings indeed, and today I speak as the king of the Zulu nation when I say that the Zulu monarchy is so fundamentally important that each Zulu king, each in his own term, is no more than the humble custodian of the institutions of the monarchy. When I speak of the monarch as a reigning Zulu king, I do not speak for myself, and I personally claim no great eminence. I am speaking of it as an institution of the Zulu people. Any Zulu king who sought personal eminence would betray the institutions of the monarchy, and individual kings

were never more important than the monarchy itself. They evolved as part of the developing soul of the Zulu people. However much I subsume the unity and the well-being of my father's people in my own being, it is not I the person, Zwelithini, who has any pre-eminence.

When therefore I say, Mr Mandela, that you, sir, offended the protocol which surrounds myself and which has surrounded other great Zulu kings in whose footsteps I walk, I am not putting myself above yourself when I say what I am saying to you on this question. I very much regret the fact that we are only meeting today four years after your release from prison. When you requested through the prince of kwaPhindangene as your former colleague in the ANC and lifetime friend, to see me, I immediately agreed. I had planned to see you in the important traditional home of King Dinuzulu at Osuthu Royal Residence on the 10th of May 1990.

I stated that I would then have another meeting with you on the 11th of May at kwaKhangelamankengane Palace for a discussion which I hoped was to be around the violence that has so racked my nation. You requested that I should accompany you with my prime minister, the prince of kwaPhindangene, to lay a wreath at the grave of the founder of the Zulu nation, King Shaka, and I agreed to do so, regardless of the fact that it is not our Zulu tradition to lay wreaths on our king's graves, but I was prepared to do so in deference to you.

Why did we want to do all these things for you, particularly as I do not know you at all? I wanted us to honour you as a friend of both my late father, King Bhekuzulu ka Solomon, and of my uncle, Prince Mangosuthu. I also felt that whatever the circumstances of your incarceration were, you deserved honour after having sacrificed 27 years of your life in jail for the cause of black liberation.

This is why I was saddened by all sorts of issues that crept in and upset all the arrangements that my prime minister and I had so carefully made for your visit to kwaZulu. I heard that it was stated by you, and repeated in one of your letters to me that you were told to come alone. I think this is a misunderstanding as we could never expect anyone of your status to come alone. The only distinction we wanted to make to your visit to Osuthu, was that this would be a visit to our important ancestral home where there would be no need to bring all your colleagues, who could be present at the discussion we were hoping to have the following day. But there was no suggestion that you should visit Osuthu just by yourself.

You will recall that my uncle, Prince Mangosuthu, broke protocol and gave you all my private phone numbers. By doing so, this showed the measure of the high esteem with which you are regarded by us. You phoned me from England and I spoke to you and agreed to a time when you expected to see me. I have never been unwilling to receive you, Mr Mandela. Why should I be unwilling to see you with the background that I have given.

I was quite insulted when a suggestion was made that I was prevented from seeing you by my prime minister and uncle, Prince Mangosuthu. This was repeated by many people in your camp, such as Mr Phathekile Holomisa, and several Natal leaders of your organisation. This I took as an insult to me, my uncle and my people. Why would the chief minister see you with alacrity each and every time you have wanted to meet with him, and then be unwilling that I should meet with you.

When you were quoted in your address to a rally at Princess Magogo stadium in kwaMashu as saying that you have asked Mr Zuma to ask me to give you a date on which you can have an audience with me, and you added that this was the last time you would make such a request, I was astounded. With the respect I have for you as someone of your age and as a leader, I began to wonder what sort of person you are, as I do not know you. And when you added that you would not kiss the ground before me, I became even more confused. I have never demanded that anyone does that before me.

I think it would be wrong for me not to get all these things off my chest. I am not expecting these things to cloud the issues that you have publicly stated you wish to discuss with me. I put them down for the record without expecting them to be the cause of any acrimony between us.

I also want to say that various members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and leaders of the ANC in the region of kwaZulu-Natal, have also failed to understand the protocol surrounding myself as the Zulu monarch. A Zulu king is not just another black leader who should be approachable by just anybody. When your lieutenants either sought to see me themselves, or sought an audience with me for you, they did not understand that the way to the monarch had necessarily to go through the protocol of making arrangements through my prime minister, the prince of kwaPhindangene. In fact, they approached various IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] leaders who have nothing to do with the Zulu royal court.

I hope, sir, that the audience that I have given you will be conducted with the dignity and the wisdom of Zulu protocol. The introduction of yourself to me by my prime minister was very correct, and I sincerely hope that you, sir, will accept that in future protocol will be properly observed.

Mr Mandela, I have to say these things to show my own respect to the institutions of the monarchy in which I serve as reigning king. I also want you to understand that the slight to my person and to my dignity I am talking of so simply and so openly, took on many forms and was repeated many times. I, as the reigning monarch of the Zulu people, have thus far been protected and the monarchy has thus far been preserved for a provisional time by my location in the kwaZulu legislative assembly as a constitutional monarch.

The ANC's attitude to the kwaZulu legislative assembly in which I am located and surrounded by kwaZulu legislative assembly protocol, has also been most offensive to me. There can be no action against the kwaZulu legislative assembly without it at the same time being action against me as reigning king. The kwaZulu legislative assembly is a place where debates take place and it is a place where policy is formed. It is therefore a place where opinion and counter-opinion is pitted against each other. There is room in the kwaZulu legislative assembly and its proceedings for differences of opinion.

The insults that many spokespersons of the ANC, and particularly the Natal leaders of the ANC, have hurled at me numerous times that I am on the pay roll of the kwaZulu government, or that my prime minister, Prince Mangosuthu, is my paymaster, is something which is more than just offensive. It is the traditional duty of my people to build my residences, to till my land and to look after me as their king. The Ethula custom obliged many of the subjects of the king to deliver gifts of cattle to the king and this is our tradition. The Zulu nation is the only one in southern Africa that developed to statehood to the extent of having a standing army. This is why even now I am the only ruler or king who has what are called amabutho or regiments. Even my uncle the chief minister belongs to one of the king's regiments—called the Manukelana Regiment. It was set up by prince Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu during the interregnum when he was acting for my late father, King Bhhekuzulu ka Solomon, during his minority.

The British monarch is supported from state coffers. The Swedish king is supported from state coffers. The Norwegian king is supported from state coffers. The Belgian king is supported from state coffers. The Danish monarch is supported from state coffers. The Dutch monarch is supported from state coffers. The king of Tonga is supported from state coffers. The king of Lesotho is supported from state coffers. The king of Swaziland is supported from state coffers. What should be so exceptional about the Zulu monarchy in this respect? Why does the ANC do what it is doing to hurl these sort of insults at me? My uncle the prince of kwaPhindangene as chief minister, and members of his cabinet, have a national duty to uphold the dignity of my office, my monarchy and kingdom.

The African National Congress has never entered any kwaZulu election and has been completely unrepresented in the kwaZulu legislative assembly. It has been unrepresented because the ANC disdained the assembly itself, and talked about it, and propagandised against it, in terms which my people will insist are vile terms. When the ANC launched a national mass action campaign in July 1990 after your release from jail to destroy the kwaZulu government and to have the kwaZulu Police disbanded, all Zulus true and good were offended.

The ANC promoted by means of the TEC [Transitional Executive Council] and the declaration of the state of emergency the invasion of kwaZulu by the South African

Defence Force and the South African Police. I want to make it clear that I, the king of the Zulu nation and my father's people consider the declaration of a state of emergency in kwaZulu to be an act of foreign aggression, an invasion of our territory, and a rape of our national dignity and pride. I the king of the Zulu nation and my father's people shall never recognise the legitimacy of the actions taken in terms of the declaration of the state of emergency.

I also wish to mention that the constant stigmatisation of my uncle, the prince of kwaPhindangene, as a surrogate leader by yourself, sir, also gave rise to great offence. My uncle, the traditional prime minister of my people, proudly takes his place in the kwaZulu legislative assembly as an arena in which he has confronted apartheid. It was he who destroyed the South African Government's homeland policy, and it was his refusal to accept so-called independence that destroyed Mr John Vorster's and Mr P W Botha's dream of establishing a confederation of South African states. You, sir, I understand, have latterly given credit where credit was due in praising the role of the prince of kwaPhindangene in these matters. For us participation was a strategy. You yourself, sir, wrote that non-participation was a strategic concept and should not be elevated to a principle.

I want also, sir, to say that I could go on for some considerable time to talk of the offenses to which the Zulu nation has taken exception, and to the many ways in which the ANC has shown disdain for the Zulu people, the monarchy and the kwaZulu legislative assembly. We meet today against the background of two direct and intolerable attacks on the Zulu nation and to any Zulu in South Africa: the Shell House massacre and the declaration of the state of emergency in kwaZulu, with consequent military invasion.

I have only done as much as is needed to clear things from my heart so that we can talk openly and simply about the prime purpose of our meeting.

I understood the purpose of this meeting to enable you, sir, to express whatever views you wish to express on my demand for the recognition of the sovereignty of the Zulu kingdom. A kingdom is either sovereign or not. Sovereignty can not be granted, nor can it be pleaded for. It is not something that can be negotiated for or conferred on us by anyone.

Allow me, sir, to talk to you briefly about the sovereignty of the Zulu kingdom. The Zulu nation is the only nation in the whole of southern Africa which had to face the full might of the British or any other army. The Zulu nation was the last nation to take up arms against the colonial enemies of black South Africa. When the Bambatha rebellion erupted, it led to the arrest, conviction for treason and the exiling of King Dinuzulu ka Cetshwayo, who was my great-grandfather and the maternal grandfather of my uncle, the prince of kwaPhindangene, whom your organisation so disdains.

The Zulus were the only people in the whole of South Africa on whom the bantu authorities system had finally to be forced, and throughout the period between the forcing of the bantu authorities system on us and the final fall of apartheid, Zulus played as proud a role as they had previously played between 1910 and 1948.

It was through the kwaZulu legislative assembly that my prime minister, Prince Mangoshuthu Buthelezi, as chief minister, with his colleagues, foiled the plans of the National Party government to denationalise all black South Africans. This is what prompted the former chairman of the Anglo-American Company, Mr Gavin Rely, to say of him in May 1986:

"No one, the ANC included, has done more to halt the ideological thrust of apartheid than Buthelezi because he has rejected violence as an instrument to bring about national change, he naturally stands in a better light for many than those who do not. It is easy to forget that he was the only black leader with an authentic power base to have faced the heat, a long time ago, of a government still determined to enforce apartheid. I think history, if reasonably and objectively written, will endorse the fact that he was the anvil on which apartheid ultimately faltered."

The founding father of the old African National Congress was a Zulu, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, who was married to my grand-aunt, Princess Phikisile ka Dinuzulu, and it was a Zulu, Chief Albert Lutuli, who salvaged the ANC from disarray and disrepute in the first five years of National Party rule, when it was almost moribund.

Throughout the period of conquest and subjugation, it was Zulu identity which kept the Zulus intact as a vibrant force against colonialism and apartheid. The British set out to dismember and destroy the Zulu kingdom after we were finally defeated at the battle of Ulundi. They did conquer us, but they never crushed us.

The sovereignty that was indisputably ours in the 19th Century remained a living reality in southern Africa. Our sovereignty was forged by history. It is simply a fact, sir, that sovereignty forged by history can not be undone by political edict, or by the passing of a law, or by the forcing of a constitution on the people of a sovereign kingdom which they reject in part and in whole.

I repeat, that under the kwaZulu legislative assembly the Zulu monarchy was given interim protection by the South African drama as the struggle for liberation ran its course. Now that apartheid has been finally destroyed and a new South Africa is being shaped, there shall emerge a sovereign Zulu kingdom. I am not prepared to talk to you, sir, about whether or not there shall be a sovereign Zulu kingdom in the new South Africa. The only thing to talk about are the modalities of bringing the sovereignty of the Zulu kingdom into full recognition and relating the kingdom properly to the rest of South Africa.

In these matters about which I am prepared to talk, there is a great deal to discuss. I and my prime minister have always known that the kwaZulu legislative assembly was a transitional structure which would finally evolve into a permanent governmental structure within the context of the wider South Africa. The kwaZulu government initiated the Buthelezi commission and then later the kwaZulu-Natal indaba [meeting] in two very serious attempts to break new ground in negotiation endeavours to conceive of race-free alternatives to apartheid.

It was my great, great-grandfather King Cetshwayo ka Mpande, who was in many respects the first new South African who saw that the old historic order of things in the sub-continent would have to be changed. It was he who took to diplomacy and the writing of letters and dispatches which he used to replace the shield and the spear. He recognised that it was by diplomacy and the drawing up of treaties that the new South Africa would be shaped. He saw over a century ago what we now call the new South Africa. He recognised that the Zulu empire which actually spread its influence from the Caledon River in the south, right through what is now the centre of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, would have to be abandoned. He recognised that the kingdom of kwaZulu, bounded by the Umtamvuna River in the south, the terrains of King Moshoeshe in the west, the McMahon boundary between kwaZulu and Mozambique and the boundaries of Swazi domain in the north, set fixed boundaries. He also recognised the final kwaZulu boundary in the west would be fixed by treaty and negotiation, but would extend well into the present day Transvaal.

One of the wisdoms distilled out of the colonial and post-colonial periods was that post-colonial Africa had to start with boundaries of states as they were produced by history in the colonial period. There is virtually no state in Africa which could not lay traditional claim to territories beyond its boundaries. But African states have generally employed the wisdom of not fighting over claims and counter-claims to the territorial limits of states. I accept this wisdom of Africa, and I say that the sovereign kingdom of kwaZulu will be bounded by the Transvaal in the west, Mozambique and Swaziland in the north, and Transkei and Lesotho in the south and south west.

Mr Mandela, I must inform you, sir, that I reject the 1993 constitution even as amended, because it extends the politically greedy arm of Pretoria right across the Zulu kingdom. The kingdom of kwaZulu must preferably be made part of the new South Africa, but never at the expense of the sovereignty of the kingdom. I and my people would like to have just elbow room within a greater South Africa. My people can police their region. A nation such as ours must have militia, for example, and all these things are not possible under this constitution. The 1993 constitution makes no provision for this sovereignty. It equates the Zulu monarchy with the institutions of chieftainships elsewhere. The provisions it makes for the representation of traditional leaders

quite obviously were not drawn up by anybody who had any insight into Zulu society and who were prepared to accommodate the Zulu monarchy.

When I saw the failure of negotiations and particularly the failure of negotiations to deliver federalism, in which the kwaZulu-Natal province would be sufficiently autonomous to accommodate a sovereign Zulu kingdom, and the role of the Zulu monarchy, I had to act decisively.

I therefore informed the prince of kwaPhindangene that I wished to see the state president and to lay before him the claim of Zulu sovereignty for the kingdom. I did so. To my dismay the state president sat and listened, and then sought to establish negotiations about the sovereignty of the kingdom. There was no acceptance of the sovereignty of the kingdom which would have permitted discussion about how that kingdom would be organised internally, and how its internal organisation would interface with the rest of South Africa.

I now see that you, sir, and the prince of kwaPhindangene, have agreed to submit your differences to an international mediation process. Inevitably that process will deliver either failure or success which will impact on my own position.

As things now stand I cannot encourage my father's people to vote on the 26th, 27th and 28th of April and thereby lend legitimacy to what will be destructive of the very foundations on which the sovereignty of the Zulu kingdom rests. You, sir, are rushing into an election which I and the Zulu people reject. After the Shell House massacre, the Zulu nation carries an additional open wound: those who died because they were exercising their democratic right to oppose the election, shall be celebrated and remembered in various ways which we will announce soon. This makes discussions between us on this vital matter both extremely urgent and very, very difficult.

As you react to my introductory words, sir, you must consider that I am bound by my duties and responsibilities towards my father's people and towards the Zulu nation. It is my duty and responsibility to ensure that the interests of the Zulu nation are protected and preserved in the present unfolding of historical events in South Africa. As I speak about the interests of the Zulu nation, I am deeply aware that such interests combine together the wants and aspirations of all the past and present generations of Zulus, and of all the generations of Zulus yet to come.

I, as the king of the Zulu nation, am part of that continuum. Throughout that continuum of unfolding historical events, the Zulu nation has sought its right to exist on its land as a nation and as a people. Since the battle of Ulundi the Zulu nation remained a sovereign nation, even if our sovereignty was limited by the external coercion of the governments which had conquered us. In fact, the Zulu nation and my father's people continued to exercise their sovereignty and self-government to the fullest extent allowed under the

circumstances. It is true that the Zulu nation not only preserved its language and culture but also its laws and societal organisation. The sovereignty of the Zulu nation in this respect continued to exist through the institution of the Zulu monarchy. The Zulu nation did not choose to be organised in the form of a self-governing territory within the grand scheme of apartheid, for the self-governing territory was imposed on the Zulu nation. However, the establishment of the kwaZulu government under the regime of apartheid provided a structure of convenience for the self-governance of the Zulu nation.

As we are moving into the final stage of liberation, I, as the king of the Zulu nation, have a duty to ensure that my father's people and the Zulu nation preserve their right of self-governance. The Zulu nation never considered its right of self-determination to be an exclusive one, for the Zulu nation has always expressed its right of self-determination along with all the other people who share its ancestral Zulu territory.

This was clearly shown by the effort of the Buthelezi Commission and the kwaZulu-Natal indaba which led to the joint administration of the territory of the Zulus by the joint executive authority. Throughout this process, the Zulu nation sought to harmonise its interests with the interests of all the other people living in kwaZulu/Natal in a shared vision of democracy, freedom, mutual respect and pluralism.

This process culminated in the adoption of the constitution of the state of kwaZulu-Natal on December 1, 1992. The adoption of this constitution expressed more than the right of self-determination of the Zulu nation. It was also a covenant which the Zulu nation undersigned for the benefit of all the other people living within the ancestral territory of the Zulu nation.

The constitution of the state of kwaZulu/Natal set out the bottom line for the Zulu nation. It was a compromise between the aspirations of the Zulu nation to self-governance and its willingness to participate in a united South Africa. The constitution of the state of kwaZulu/Natal has the purpose of bringing together the Zulu people along with all the other people living in the territory. At the same time it recognised Zulu sovereignty and translated it into the formation of a member state of a federation of states. We dearly hoped that a federation of states, such as the United States of America, could be formed through negotiations at central level. We had hoped that such negotiations would recognise the constitution of the state of kwaZulu/Natal.

I, the king of the Zulu nation, supported the adoption of the constitution of the state of kwaZulu/Natal as a compromise document and as a means of reconciliation. The constitution of the state of kwaZulu-Natal would have left the people of our region to decide on all matters of importance to us. The constitution would have recognised to our region the right to decide on all matters

related to our societal organisation. Among those matters are important things such as family, criminal, contract, commercial, and administrative law.

Moreover, the constitution of the state of kwaZulu-Natal had the purpose of entrenching a special area of protection and autonomy for the Zulu monarchy. In fact the constitution entrenched traditional law and customs of which I, as the king of the Zulus, am the custodian. The production and protection of traditional law would have remained within my domain. No law of the central or provincial parliament could have undermined or interfered with the importance of traditional law in organising and preserving our society. Moreover, and very importantly, the constitution would have entrenched communal property and our system of courts. In addition, the electoral system adopted in that constitution was particularly designed to cater for the needs of the Zulu monarchy and our traditional structures, such as amakhosi [chiefs] and indunas.

The process of negotiation at the World Trade Centre ignored the constitution of the state of kwaZulu-Natal and proceeded to develop a constitutional framework in which I as the king of the Zulu nation and the Zulu nation itself, had no space or recognition. Under the 1993 constitution as amended, the national parliament could legislate on any matter related to communal property on the land of the Zulu nation. Moreover, the central parliament will have all residual powers which will allow the central government to establish a unitary form of societal organisation with only one family or criminal law, for instance. Under the World Trade Centre constitution the Zulu nation will not have the opportunity to remain a society within a broader South African society.

It was for this reason that the demands for sovereignty and self-determination of the Zulu nation cannot be accommodated within the structure of the 1993 constitution. It was for this reason that I, the king of the Zulu nation, had no choice but to pursue the restoration of the kingdom of kwaZulu as it existed before its conquest by those who undermined our sovereignty.

I have met on several occasions with Mr F W de Klerk in his capacity as the state president of South Africa. To him I clearly and with no uncertainty signified that the claim of the Zulu nation for its sovereignty and self-determination cannot be accommodated within the structures of the 1993 constitution. To him I clearly with no uncertainty said that I as the king of the Zulu nation am under an obligation to ensure that the sovereignty and the aspirations of the Zulu nation would not be obliterated by the 1993 constitution. In that respect, I made it very clear that since the sovereignty and self-determination of the Zulu nation, as I expressed them to the state president, are irreconcilable with the present constitution, it becomes necessary that the sovereignty of the Zulu nation shall continue to exist irrespective of the present constitution.

For this reason on March 18, 1994, the day on which we were supposed to meet in Ulundi, I gave a report to the Zulu nation detailing the history of my negotiations with the state president on the issue of the restoration of the kingdom of kwaZulu. On the occasion I made the following statements to my father's people and the Zulu nation:

"History is calling on us to finalise the liberation of our people from over a century of foreign domination. We have reached the point of no return at which we are faced with enormous responsibilities.

"We have reached the end of a road and we are faced with the harsh reality that the South African Government can not and will not facilitate the restoration of the sovereign kingdom of kwaZulu. We are faced with the harsh reality that the South African Government can not and will not facilitate the restoration of the sovereign kingdom of kwaZulu. We are faced with the historical dilemma of either succumbing and forever relinquishing our inalienable right and sovereignty, or to take it upon ourselves to realise and bring into existence what is ours, what belonged to our fathers and what belongs to our children. The Zulu nation is now left with the responsibility of finding the strength and the resources to bring about the restoration of our kingdom and to achieve our national self-determination in a free and independent country."

We must have faith in our final victory and in the success of the liberation of our people. We shall resist any attempt to constrain the forces of our liberation. I have requested President de Klerk to sort out this issue of our sovereignty and the future of the kingdom of kwaZulu, before the election.

The holding of elections under the 1993 constitution in terms of a unified South Africa, is an immediate denial of our claim for sovereignty and self-determination. In this regard, there can be no compromise or flexibility and I have the duty as the king of the Zulus to express this message in clear and unequivocal terms. In the circumstances, I find it quite impossible to recommend that any of my subjects who are loyal to the throne should participate in the forthcoming election, unless this matter is settled.

I call on you, my father's people and the Zulu nation, to bring to reality the realisation of our dream. The call for our freedom can no longer be delayed. Freedom is never granted, sovereignty is never granted. Either it exists and is recognised, or it does not exist. We the Zulu nation convene today on the battleground which subjugated the freedom of our forefathers.

We here today proclaim before the world our freedom and sovereignty and our unwavering will to defend it all costs.

I, King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhhekuzulu, fulfil today my historical role and responsibility to declare my commitment to the freedom and sovereignty of the Zulu

nation, and to assert the sovereignty of my father's people over their ancestral territory.

I call on all Zulus to unite in the name of the kingdom of kwaZulu. I call on all Zulus to fulfil their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty to anyone in southern Africa who will dare to challenge it. The road ahead is not going to be an easy one, but I know that you, my father's people and the Zulu nation, will meet with courage, determination and pride the challenge that history has put on all of us. God bless all our efforts for the restoration of our kingdom.

I hope that my comments to you, sir, have made it clear that the restoration of the kingdom of kwaZulu is a now fact of history. It is also a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 constitution in its present formulation. The rejection of the Zulu nation's self-rule within a federal formula leaves us with no other option, whatever it may cost us.

The position of the kingdom of kwaZulu in relation to the rest of South Africa is something that will emerge through our negotiations and dialogue.

It is therefore with some interest that I will sit back and listen to whatever comments that you and members of your executive care to make, and I hope you will also listen with attention to what some of my people may want to say on this important matter of the Zulu monarchy, the Zulu kingdom and the position of that kingdom within a free South Africa. Whether we end up as part of one federal state of South Africa, or as a completely autonomous state, will depend on what you and others in South Africa do to me and my people. The key thing is whether you are prepared to listen to our just aspirations, or whether, like those who conquered us, you think you must trample with your feet on those just aspirations of my nation.

ANC Draft Agreement on kwaZulu Published

MB0804224994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2016 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Proposed draft agreement by the ANC on kwaZulu tabled at meeting between ANC President Nelson Mandela, State President F.W. de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini issued on the SAPA PR Wire Service on 8 April]

[Text] Proposed draft agreement between the African National Congress and the Royal House of kwaZulu.

The African National Congress:

Recognising the importance of the institution of the royal house of kwaZulu and its royal head, his majesty the king;

Further recognising the grave injustice caused by the present and past designation of his majesty as the paramount chief of the Zulus;

Mindful of the historic role played by the king, the royal house of kwaZulu and their forebears in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid and in the promotion of the national objective of an independent, unfragmented, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa;

Convinced that his majesty, the king and the royal house of kwaZulu will continue to make an important contribution towards the realisation of these objectives;

Further mindful of the high esteem in which the ANC itself and the people of our country rightly hold his majesty the king and the royal house of kwaZulu ; and,

Conscious of the imperative for all government institutions to operate within the provisions of the constitutions of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993, as amended, as well as the Bill of Rights;

Hereby agree with his majesty the king and the royal house of kwaZulu as follows:

1. The African National Congress undertakes actively to promote the restoration of the dignity of his majesty the king and the royal house of kwaZulu.

2. Towards this end, the African National Congress further undertakes to ensure that, within the kwaZulu/Natal constitution, as envisaged in Section 160 of the constitution of Republic of South Africa act of 1993, as amended, (hereinafter referred to as "the constitution"), his majesty the king and the royal house of kwaZulu shall have and enjoy a place suitable for persons in their regal position.

3. In particular, the African National Congress undertakes to ensure that:

(a) His majesty the king shall be recognised as a king with constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations which shall extend throughout the province of kwaZulu/Natal.

(b) His majesty the king shall have and exercise directly or indirectly, through a person or persons designated by his majesty, both ceremonial and traditional powers and prerogatives which shall be specified in the constitution of the province of kwaZulu/Natal.

(c) His majesty the king shall be crowned in such a manner as may be agreed with him, which may include coronation by the chief justice of the country.

(d) The king shall have and exercise such rights and powers as will be provided for in the constitution together with the royal court, as determined by Zulu custom and tradition.

(e) The constitution shall provide that the king shall, on an annual basis, officially open the proceeding of the provincial legislature.

(f) The king shall also be advised and assisted by a royal council comprising the premier of the province of kwaZulu/Natal (elected in terms of Section 145 of the constitution), members of the royal house of kwaZulu/Natal provincial legislature and a specified number of members of the kwaZulu/Natal house of traditional leaders (established in terms of section 183 of the constitution)

(g) The king shall be constitutionally empowered to designate a member of the royal house as his majesty's adviser and assistant on all traditional and customary matters;

(h) Such adviser and assistant shall have a status and concomitant powers and privileges equivalent to those of members of the provincial legislature of the province of kwaZulu/Natal and shall, as such, represent his majesty at all meetings of the provincial legislature of kwaZulu/Natal in a non-voting capacity.

(i) His majesty the king shall receive regular reports and briefings from the premier of the province of kwaZulu/Natal on all legislative and executive actions of the government of the province.

(j) The king shall have authority to install all chiefs in the province of kwaZulu/Natal.

(k) In case of a dispute in a family or community regarding the issue of chiefly succession, the king shall have authority to appoint and install the rightful chief, after consultation with the relevant parties.

(l) All traditional leaders and authorities in the province of kwaZulu/Natal shall have their constitution, position and authority guaranteed in terms of Chapter 11 of the constitution.

(m) The provincial legislature of kwaZulu/Natal shall, annually, approve a budget to cover the expenses of his majesty the king and the royal house of kwaZulu, which budget shall be operated by a person or persons approved by his majesty for this purpose.

(n) The provincial legislature shall establish by law a royal constabulary which, as a special unit of the kwaZulu/Natal policing authority, shall be responsible for the security of his majesty and the royal house of kwaZulu.

(o) The constitution of the province of kwaZulu/Natal shall determine the titular relationship between his majesty the king and fixed public property in the province.

(p) The provincial legislature shall, after consultation with his majesty the king, give an appropriate name to the province of kwaZulu/Natal, which name shall be adopted and legislated by the provincial legislature as the official name of the province of kwaZulu/Natal.

4. Prior to the adoption of the constitution of the province of kwaZulu/Natal as envisaged in the constitution and prior to the passing of appropriate legislation by

the provincial legislature of kwaZulu/Natal, the African National Congress undertakes to ensure the security of the position, powers, prerogatives, rights and privileges currently held or, as the case may be, exercised and enjoyed by his majesty and the royal house of kwaZulu.

5. His majesty the king and the royal house of kwaZulu undertake actively to promote the right of all South Africans, irrespective of party political affiliation, to enjoy freedom of political activity, freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom to protest and to petition authority peacefully, as well as all other relevant rights and freedoms.

6. In particular, his majesty the king and the royal house of kwaZulu undertake to guarantee that all political parties and organisations, both those opposed to and those participating in the forthcoming general elections, shall not be hindered by any persons or authority in their unarmed and peaceful campaigns.

7. His majesty the king and the royal house of kwaZulu further undertake to do all in their power, in collaboration with the Independent Electoral Commission, to ensure that all persons seeking to participate and vote in the forthcoming elections shall be able to do so without let or hindrance. April 8, 1994.

Government Proposals for kwaZulu Published

MB0904055494 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0351 GMT 9 Apr 94

["Government proposals for the accommodation of the king of the Zulus and the Kingdom of kwaZulu in a constitution for the province of kwaZulu/Natal" issued by the Office of the State President on the SAPA PR Wire Service on 9 April]

[Text] The government made the following proposals with regard to the position of the monarchy and the kingdom of kwaZulu during the talks yesterday at Skukuza between the state president, the president of the African National Congress, the king of the Zulus and the chief minister of kwaZulu:

"(1) The Kingdom of kwaZulu shall, subject to subsections 3 and 4, be governed by the king of the Zulus, and executive and a council.

"(2) The council shall consist of 80 members, at least half of whom shall be made up of traditional leaders.

"(3) The king, executive and council shall have jurisdiction over the land which is subject to the traditional land tenureship system or subject to the powers of a traditional leader and over all Zulu subjects.

"(4) The king, executive and council shall have legislation and executive powers regarding:

(a) indigenous law and customs and local government affairs in the relevant area of its jurisdiction.

(b) traditions, indigenous law and customs relating to the Zulu subjects.

(c) Such matters assigned or delegated in terms of section 12 (2) (of the proposed constitution for the Province of kwaZulu/Natal)."

Summit Ends Without Deal; Further Talks Planned

Joint Statement Issued

MB0904053894 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0213 GMT 9 Apr 94

[Joint statement by State President F.W. de Klerk, King Goodwill Zwelithini Kabhekuzulu, ANC President Nelson Mandela and Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi issued by the ANC on the SAPA PR Wire Service on 9 April]

[Text] Delegations led by the state president, Mr F W de Klerk, King Goodwill Zwelithini, Mr N Mandela and Chief Minister M G Buthelezi met today for several hours in the Kruger National Park. The delegations discussed a number of issues, including the future constitutional accommodation of the Zulu monarchy, calls for Zulu sovereignty, the problem of violence, the state of emergency and proposals for international mediation.

The parties agreed on the necessity to make proper constitutional provision for the recognition of the Kingdom of kwaZulu and tabled substantial proposals in this regard. They agreed to establish a working group to deliberate further on these proposals and to report back to the respective leaders by Thursday next week.

The parties agreed that, on the subject of outstanding constitutional issues, international mediation should proceed in order to seek a constitutional settlement and political reconciliation. Urgent negotiations should take place to reach agreement on the terms of reference and the procedures to be followed. A follow-up meeting late next week is foreseen to discuss the progress achieved in negotiations and to consider the implications arising from this.

His majesty the king and the three leaders were unanimous in their condemnation of violence and of the known and hidden forces that are involved in fomenting violence. They made an urgent appeal to their followers and to all South Africans to end the killings, to exercise maximum restraint and to pursue their objectives by peaceful means. Kruger National Park 8 April 1994

Leaders Hold News Conference

MB0804233994 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 2245 GMT 8 Apr 94

[News conference by State President F.W. de Klerk, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and ANC President

Nelson Mandela near Skukuza at the Kruger National Park on 8 April—recorded, broadcast in progress]

[Text] [De Klerk] ...they had to adapt and make special arrangements to enable us to meet at this venue and we thank them very much for the very efficient service which they rendered to us and the discomfort they also had in the process, during a very popular week, in making available this special venue of which we made use. We have distributed a joint statement, which no doubt you will interpret that it hides more than it discloses. If that is your conclusion you are absolutely right because that was the intention, not because we have not had fruitful discussions, but because our discussions in many senses of the word have not been completed. For that reason we have appointed a task group with a specific instruction. You might say, oh, another task group. [laughter] I would like to say that this one is different in that it has to report back in less than a week, to the leaders, and in that there is an agreement for a follow-up meeting during which the discussions will be taken further, and this is the main reason why the statement is incomplete on all the burning issues, which are not dealt with specifically in the statement.

I feel that we have made good progress in some respects today. On the burning issue and the very important issue of the accommodation and the full recognition of the monarchy of the Zulu nation, of the Zulu kingdom, I am confident that this task group will come up with good results because my perception is that between our proposals, the proposals of the ANC, the proposals from the side of Chief Minister Buthelezi and the kwaZulu government, there is already discernible, a broad consensus and that it is now a question of putting together the how—of the accommodation and recognition of the Zulu kingdom. The fact that it is to be recognized, and that that is to be done constitutionally, I think can be accepted as having been fully established and that there is a broad consensus on that.

On some of the other issues I am disappointed that we haven't made more progress, but the door is not closed and discussions will continue. There will now be a broadened basis of discussion on the issue of mediation and mediation can play a constructive and a positive role and the government will be cooperative on the basis that we reach agreement on a number of outstanding aspects affecting the issue of mediation. If we can reach such agreement mediation can make a constructive contribution towards bringing us nearer to solutions on many of the substantive issues at stake. In general, I think we have achieved today the beginning of a discussion and a continued negotiation process between main role players which should have started long ago. I have for many, many years been advocating a meeting like the one we have had today and I'm glad that at last it has taken place, and as far as the government and the National Party is concerned, we will seek ways and means of ensuring that also this important forum which has been brought together today, will continue to operate and interact with each other because there lies a heavy

responsibility on the shoulders of the four people and that which they represent in public life, sitting before you. To a certain extent we have come to the brink of a very serious situation, and our responsibility is to through dialogue and negotiation, find ways and means to defuse the issue in the province and to ensure that peace comes to all the people of South Africa, and that the full opportunity for all those who want to participate, to participate freely and without fear, will be ensured and for those who choose the other options, and that is not to participate, to also do so without interference. Participation or not is a choice. It is part of the democratic process, but the rights of those who want to participate is as sacrosanct as the rights of those who don't want to participate, and I'm glad that nothing has happened today which in any way takes away from a previous agreement reached between me and Chief Minister Buthelezi, that this principle of free democratic organization for those who participate and who don't participate, is an important principle which should be upheld throughout our country in every inch and every corner. Thank you very much ladies and gentlemen.

[Zwelethini] Well, from all that the state president has been saying, I should say to the discussions that have taken place in the meeting, which actually everybody has been ... has been looking for, I'm so pleased that the meeting has taken place today although some of my demands, as far as I'm concerned, has never been met yet, but as far as this meeting is concerned I hope that it's going to be very concerned about the problems that have been accumulated in this country, especially from the political parties whom actually their followers are in a problem of fighting against each other, which I hope that today, this meeting of today is going to show, especially to the grassroots level, that the leaders themselves—what do they want from their own followers. So, I don't think there is anything that I can say thereof, except that the joint press statement for myself and the chief minister is going to be right by him. Thank you.

[Buthelezi] Today his majesty, the king of the Zulu nation, leaders of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] and the ANC and the South African Government and the National Party, and their respective delegations met in a summit in a venue within this Kruger National Park. The parties in this summit exchanged presentations on their respective positions with respect to the grave issues which are facing the country in the present national crisis.

Unfortunately, progress could not be made with respect to most of the fundamental issues tabled by his majesty the king of the Zulus and by the Inkatha Freedom Party to which the leaders and the delegations of the South African Government, National Party and of the ANC, could not provide any responsive answer as they still had to consult with their cabinet and with the members of the working group through the ANC before responding. The IFP upholds the summit to seek ways and means to reach a constitutional compromise which could form the basis for a broader political settlement and reconciliation

which would enable the IFP to join the electoral process on an equal footing with all other political parties of South Africa. In this respect the IFP felt that a postponement of the election date is essential to achieve an all inclusive participation. Both his majesty the king and the IFP also tabled the issue of the Shell House massacre and of the most disturbing lack of police action to secure evidence and ensure the conviction of those who perpetuated that carnage. The issue of the sovereignty of the kingdom of kwaZulu was tabled once again by his majesty the king and the Zulu nation and an ANC proposal continued provisions to be implemented by a government of national unity after elections was found to be unacceptable by His Majesty and his delegation. The issue of violence in the country and especially in the kwaZulu-Natal area was discussed and the IFP tabled its firm opposition to the declaration of the state of emergency in kwaZulu-Natal and intervention of the SAP [South African Police] and the SADF [South African Defense Force], which has already proven to escalate the situation of violence and arrest in that region.

The IFP insisted that the immediate lifting of the state of emergency is a necessary precondition to the holding of free and fair elections in the region. In order to seek compromise and reconciliation the IFP tabled further proposals to reach a constitutional settlement contained on pages five and six of the presentation delivered by the president of the IFP. Such proposals were not even discussed. International mediation between the South African Government, the IFP, and the ANC was also discussed and all parties stated their commitment to it. In this respect the president of the IFP further proposed the involvement of Norway in the mediation process, to which there was no objection from the other parties.

That is a statement which His Majesty commanded me to read to you just now, and I must say that just like the state president, I feel that although there may be that disappointment that there has been nothing concrete as far as the expectations of many people in this country and also outside this country are concerned—but nevertheless I do believe that the day was not wasted. I believe that every minute that was spent in addressing the issues of the king and the kingdom, in addressing all the other issues that the state president has mentioned and also issues that I mentioned, were well spent.

[Mandela] Firstly, I would like to say that the statement read by the chief minister comes to me as a complete surprise. I certainly was not informed about it before now. The statement that has been distributed to the press was drafted by committee representatives—all the parties involved in this discussion—and I would have expected that if there was a separate statement we should have been informed, warned about this. The second point I want to make is that the IFP wanted the date of elections to be postponed. We have emphatically rejected that. That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever.

The third point I would like to make is that we would expect the authorities in kwaZulu-Natal to give full facilities to the IEC [Independent Electoral Commission] to deploy the voting stations and to make all preparations for the elections, as has happened in other parts of our country. There is no area in which the IEC has encountered problems and we would appeal to the authorities in kwaZulu-Natal to cooperate with the IEC. Those who want to participate in the elections should be free to do so and those who want to boycott the elections should also be free to campaign for the boycott of elections, after all, that is what democracy is all about. The only issue which we (?are against)—as we have done in our resolution, is the question of seeking to obtain ones objective through the employment of violence. We have harshly condemned these massacres and called upon our followers to commit themselves to peace and we have condemned all forces, including those that are known and unknown which are responsible for this violence, but we hope that the authorities in that area will give full cooperation to the IEC in its work.

Now, we made certain proposals to his majesty, as the ANC, in order to meet his concerns. We went out of our way to address everything which we believe a constitutional monarch would like to enjoy—the powers, the rights which are sovereign everywhere in the world, in a constitutional dispensation, enjoy. There is hardly any power in our view which we reserved, except perhaps we were silent on the question of the right of His Majesty to communal land and to indigenous law. When this was pointed out to us we indicated that as the African National Congress we are prepared to address this question because we are keen that the fears and the concerns of his majesty must be fully addressed and I will be going back to my organization to point out that amongst the proposals that we made, his majesty felt that this particular question of his rights in relation to communal land and to indigenous laws is a matter which he feels we should have addressed, and we will treat this with all seriousness. This discussion with his majesty is going to continue. We will address it if we are unable to resolve it before the election. We propose to continue after the election.

Without going into details I do not want us to have exaggerated expectations about the task group because the reasons for the reservation that have been expressed—his majesty expressed a certain reservation about the proposals that were made to him and in my view these are reservations which cannot be properly addressed by a task group. They are reservations which can properly be addressed by a government of national unity. Nevertheless, I will not oppose any mechanism which my colleagues and all the other parties involved think might be useful, but I would like to warn you that we should have no exaggerated expectations as to what this task group is likely to achieve.

Now the issue of the powers, the rights, the privileges of His Majesty, have nothing to do with the form of state. Whether it is a federation, or a unitary state, or a hybrid

state, his majesty will enjoy the rights of a constitutional monarch, with all ceremonial powers. I believe that you must have gone through our proposals because they are now in the hands of the press, and we believe that subject to the two issues on which our proposals seem to be (?based), subject to those two, we believe we have gone a long way to address the concerns of his majesty. But the addressing of his concerns is totally unrelated to the form of state and that is the spirit in which we handled the affair.

Now in regard to the Shell House massacre, that was raised by His Majesty and I pointed out that this matter is now in the hands of the Goldstone Commission and we better wait until that commission has made a finding. We will then take up the matter on the basis of the finding of the learned judge, and I believe that we saw more or less eye to eye on this point. Now we are unable to place before you any tangible results of these discussions, but of course as you know the fact that we sat together to exchange views is itself progress. We now know what the concerns of his majesty are, what the demands of the IFP are. We have responded to them. They know what our point of view is and further discussions, therefore, will build on what we believe the basis that was made and the proposals that were made to his majesty are a basis for further discussion of his position. The African National Congress is very much concerned about the demands of his majesty. It is one of the most illustrious royal houses in this country and we would like his majesty to feel sure that we are proud of the achievements of that illustrious royal house, and it is for that reason that the ANC has gone out of its way in order to meet the fears of his majesty, and we are, therefore, leaving the meeting in the knowledge that we have tried our best to meet the concerns of his majesty, and as I say the discussions between ourselves on his position, and his majesty, will go on before the 27 April, and if we do not reach a solution, those discussions will go on after the 27 April, but I want to make sure there should be no doubt, whatsoever, about the elections on the 27 April. As I said elsewhere, we cannot postpone our freedom and we are determined to set up a government of our own choice on that day and I hope that everyone will understand why we are so determined that the elections should take place as scheduled.

[Buthelezi] I just want to clarify one thing that Mr. Mandela says, when he says that he was not informed about a separate statement that I have made. I think the issue Mr. Mandela has discussed very clearly and I think that it was Mr. Matthews in our party who stated there was a time when we were not, in fact, in favor of issuing part of a joint communique, but then the state president said that there were issues in which we had agreed, that in fact we all agreed—it was sure. We are making it very clear that each person has the right to make their own statement. The fact that we have put down what, in fact, is our point of view doesn't mean to say that there is no right to state our own point of view, but I mean it wasn't as if we were doing this secretly. I don't know whether,

maybe, Mr. Mandela could not have understood the argument. There are some arguments about it when we agreed on this matter, and I would also like to, and I would also like to say that as Mr. Mandela has put it, the discussions have gone—inasmuch as the state president has stated—but concerning, you know, elections the head of state in this country, Mr. de Klerk, has stated to you that in fact I have not deviated from all the undertakings that I made to him previously, and in fact all of you have got my statement which I have given to you and all of you are aware of the fact that it isn't as if on our part we are trying to, you know, to deprive the IEC of any facility that it is within our competence and powers to make available, and thirdly, I would say that when the king raised the issues that he has raised about the sovereignty of his people, and also the whole issue of the Zulu kingdom, you stated that if there had been a federal state that we would never had raised the issue.

So that, therefore, I think that the issue arises precisely because the issue of the federal state, the three of us—I think the president, the president of the ANC, and myself we are not at the negotiation council, except that they attended of course the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] plenary sessions, which I did not attend. But I would say that the issues that the king has raised have a lot to do with the self-determination of the Zulu people, that the issue is not just a personal issue which his majesty the king raises, you know, about himself and his person and his family. It's an issue which he raises on behalf of his people as a whole, and if the issue is not, actually sorted out, and he has pleaded that it should be sorted out from January this year, when he spoke to the state president, then it is a very problematic situation because, therefore, I mean those of us, who may be members of the IFP who are Zulu speaking will find it very difficult to participate in the elections.

But I would like also to draw your attention to my statement that I think I have made some very reasonable proposals because the IFP intends participating in the elections, in fact we do want to participate in the elections, and therefore, we made some very reasonable compromises in an effort to try and have this issue resolved before the elections because we do want to participate in the elections. Now to say that when there should be a government of national unity, and we should be called the government of national unity, in which we are not part of—I think that of course is a misnomer because we cannot really be a government of national unity in this country—in which quite a large segment of the people of South Africa are not represented.

So I just wanted to clarify those issues, and to say to Mr. Mandela that there is no—our meeting has gone on very amicably and there was no tensions in the discussions, even between us and that, therefore, there is no subterfuge, there is no issue of us issuing a statement which was secretly (?drawn up).

South African Press Review for 10 Apr
MB1004165294

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY TIMES

Political Position of Zulu Monarchy Viewed—"The failure of the ANC and NP [National Party] this week to persuade King Goodwill Zwelithini to withdraw his support for the Inkatha Freedom Party's [IFP] boycott tactics may well count as one of our country's defining moments," begins a page-26 editorial in the Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 10 April. "The implications for peace or continuing war are enormous." Although the king on Friday rejected the proposal of having a constitutional monarchy entrenched, the editorial urges the king and his advisers to "carefully consider the implications." "The institution of the Zulu monarchy has survived war, invasion, plague and natural disaster," "yet now the king, the institution, is deeply locked in politics, caught in a violent war of position between the ANC and Inkatha." The editorial continues by admitting that "the IFP's decision not to take part in the election is legitimate and democratic. Its steadfast defence of federal powers—long after the National Party had capitulated in a welter of nudges, back-channel deals and obfuscatory rhetoric—is to its eternal credit. But that is not the point. Inkatha's opposition to the election now verges on the seditious—a campaign to destabilise the election and to deny citizens their fundamental right to vote. Unimaginable violence looms."

SUNDAY NATION

Transition Urged on After Failed Leaders' Summit—"We believe that after the failure of this summit where the ANC presented an extraordinary package to address the king's so-called concerns, to no avail, the ANC, the NP and the South African society as a whole have finally discovered that Buthelezi will never be satisfied," states the Johannesburg SUNDAY NATION in English on 10 April in a page-6 editorial. "Therefore—no matter how radical it sounds—the only reasonable thing to do is to ignore Buthelezi and move ahead with the transition process. It is also a shame King Goodwill Zwelithini has not yet discovered that Buthelezi is geared to make him lose something for nothing." In conclusion the SUNDAY NATION writes that "we hope that the three remaining weeks before the adoption of the new constitution will be enough for the king to see the light and take a more realistic approach if he really cares about the well-being of his people and the Natal province as a whole."

RAPPORT

Kruger Park Leaders' Summit—"A mountain gives birth to a mole hill" is how a page-18 editorial in the Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans on 10 April dubs the unsuccessful leaders' summit meeting at Skukuza on Friday night. "In spite of healthy skepticism from those watching the complicated political process, there had

been great expectations in the South African public that the summit between the government, the ANC, the IFP, and the Zulu king would send out a positive message. Correctly or incorrectly, these expectations had been built up like the proverbial mountain. The one that gave birth to a mole hill." "Expectations have been cherished and built up—but disappointment and dissatisfaction have followed with regular monotony." At the Skukuza summit, the ANC reiterated its standpoint: postponing

the election was out of the question. "And indeed the postponement of the election date was the one item high on the IFP's agenda." Furthermore, nothing has come from the proposed international mediation which had earlier built a "glimpse of hope." "At this late stage, RAPPORT is appealing to all political leaders to seek with renewed enthusiasm an all-inclusive solution," while the "thinking" South African public appeals for "room in which all views will be considered."

Ghana

Ministry Denies Soldiers Missing in Rwanda

AB0804182194 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Excerpt] The Ministry of Defense has denied reports that two Ghanaian soldiers serving with the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda are missing. The reports say two Ghanaians and two Belgian observers could not be found. A statement issued in Accra today and signed by the director of the Public Relations Directorate of the Ghana Armed Forces, Colonel Akowia, said the commander of the Ghanaian contingent in the mission area has confirmed that no Ghanaian officer or man is missing. He added that they are all safe and sound. [passage omitted]

Sierra Leone

German Ambassador Given 10 Days To Leave

NPFL Contacts Blamed

AB0804200694 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 8 Apr 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text:] The government of Captain Strasser in Sierra Leone has well and truly fallen out with the German ambassador, Karl Prinz, and wants him sent home. It all came to a head at Mr. Prinz' reported contacts with NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] leader, Charles Taylor, in neighboring Liberia. Taylor is frequently accused of backing the rebels in southern and eastern Sierra Leone. From Freetown, Victor Silva telexed this report.

At a press briefing this afternoon, the foreign secretary, Dr. Abass Bundu, revealed that the Sierra Leone Government had today sent a request to Germany to recall Ambassador Prinz. Dr. Abass Bundu said that Sierra Leone was forced to take this line of action because of what he called the unfriendly and undiplomatic behavior of the ambassador, adding that Karl Prinz' behavior was prejudicial to relations between Germany and Sierra Leone. Dr. Bundu was careful to point out that the move was not in any way meant to disrupt relations between the two countries nor their peoples, but was meant only

to have Karl Prinz replaced as Germany's representative here. And he has been given a 10-day period during which he should leave.

Today's announcement by the foreign secretary comes in the wake of press reports here culled from a German newspaper, DER SPIEGEL, which reported that the German ambassador had visited Charles Taylor in Gbarnga and had held private discussions with him. Dr. Abass Bundu revealed that Karl Prinz had never informed the Sierra Leone Government that he was leaving on this visit, but merely sent a note to the Foreign Office saying that he would be out of the country. The Strasser regime believes that Foday Sankoh's RUF [Revolutionary United Front] rebels have received arms from Charles Taylor's NPFL with their headquarters at Gbarnga and regarded the action of Karl Prinz as covert and not in the interest of Sierra Leone's security. Dr. Abass Bundu said that despite efforts to get an explanation from Mr. Prinz, he was treated with contempt by the German ambassador who, instead, informed his office that he would be going on annual leave on 15 April. We do not, said Dr. Bundu, discourage any attempts at bringing peace to Liberia and Sierra Leone, but we have the right to be informed of activities involving Charles Taylor, a man who has caused untold misery in our country, and Ambassador Prinz has not acted in an acceptable manner.

Declared Persona Non Grata

AB0804215094 Freetown SLBS Radio in English
2000 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Text] The Government of Sierra Leone has declared Mr. Karl Prinz, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Sierra Leone, as persona non grata.

According to a release from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, the Sierra Leone Government took the decision in the interest of preserving the excellent bilateral relations between the two countries. The statement further said the government had (been constrained to take) this unpleasant decision because of the behavior of Ambassador Karl Prinz, which it considers as undiplomatic, unfriendly, and prejudicial to the maintenance of the excellent bilateral relations which existed between Sierra Leone and the Federal Republic Germany prior to the arrival of Ambassador Karl Prinz. [passage indistinct]

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